Daily Report

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Adamishin Meets With Tajik Opposition in Tehran

MK0603102094 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 6 Mar 94 p 4

[Sergey Tsekhmistrenko report: "Adamishin Prods Tajik Opposition Toward Compromise"]

[Text] The long experience of the Afghan war appears to have convinced Russia that the intensity of combat operations in the region is directly dependent on the season of the year: In the spring the mojahedin left their winter dens, refreshed and invigorated, to continue the struggle against the "hated shuravis [Russians]" with new intensity. Fearing that something similar might happen in Tajikistan, Moscow has decided to preempt the events, and on the night of March 4 Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin left for Iran to conduct talks with the Tajik opposition. The purpose of the mission is to persuade the opponents of the current Tajik leader, Emomali Rakhmanov, to sit down at a "roundtable" of national reconciliation.

Moscow's rush to reconcile the Tajiks is entirely explicable—the preservation of "social peace" in Tajikistan has cost Russia dear. As early as last September, during Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Dushanbe, the Russian foreign minister recommended that the Tajik authorities agree to a dialogue with that part of the opposition "holding a constructive stance." Your KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent has been told at the Russian Foreign Ministry that at present the Tajiks are closer to a dialogue than ever before. In fact, what remains is to determine the location and the lineup of participants in the "roundtable."

Currently, Moscow is also pinning hopes on Tehran's assistance. A couple of years ago, the Iranians, drawing on their close linguistic and cultural ties with the Tajiks, tried to reconcile them without Russia so as to get certain dividends. Tehran leaders have fairly quickly learned, however, that there is no "struggle of the Muslims against the infidels" in Tajikistan: The conflict has a clan bottom-line. Having realized that its mediation has been in vain, Tehran recognized Moscow's interests in Tajikistan and suggested that they act together. Russia, for its part, relies on pragmatic Iranian leaders, who are more concerned over the maintenance of peace along the Iranian borders than the export of the Islamic revolution. As they are not interested in escalating tensions inside Afghanistan, these politicians may have certain influence on pro-Iranian groups deployed in the area of the Tajik-Afghan border (particularly those taking orders from Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani or the Islamic Unity Party). Although the question of how willing the field commanders are to pay heed to Tehran's advice is still open, Mr. Adamishin is going to discuss with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati the possibility of coordinating the two countries' efforts to stabilize the situation on the border.

Opposition Leaders Agree to Talks

LD0703161094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1545 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran March 7 TASS—The leaders of the Tajik opposition stationed on Afghan territory have agreed to direct negotiations with the Dushanbe government in Moscow, given guarantees of their personal safety and presence of observers from the United Nations, Russia, Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan.

This was announced by opposition delegation leader Khodzhiakbar Turadzhonzodah [name as received] told ITAR-TASS after winding up talks with Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin here.

The Tajik opposition leader said he and other opposition leaders were prepared to leave for Moscow to meet with Dushanbe representatives. Anatoliy Adamishin confirmed what Turadzhonzodah said and stressed that talks in Tehran "resulted in a substantial step" towards the political settlement of the conflict in Tajikistan.

Negotiations on the political settlement of the conflict in Tajikistan were the main objective of Anatoliy Adamishin's visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Iranian Support in Talks Noted

PM0703161594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 3

[Gulnara Khasanova report: "General Chechulin's Border Guards Will Strike Mojahedin With All Weapons at Their Disposal While Moscow Diplomats Try To Persuade the Opposition To Start Talks With the Authorities"]

[Text] Dushanbe—Events on the Tajik-Afghan border only confirm suspicions about the upcoming spring and summer escalation of hostilities by Islamic opposition groupings. Practically every day brings new instances of Russian border posts and detachments being fired upon and attempted armed breakthroughs from the Afghan to the Tajik side of the river. In January and February Russian troop stationing locations came under rocket fire more than 60 times.

"This is a protracted guerrilla war," the military are saying.

The Tajik authorities insist, on the contrary, that the civil war in the republic is now over. After yet another border skirmish, the republic's Foreign Ministry is sending Kabul a protest note. Kabul rejects Dushanbe's protests, dismissing as groundless all accusations that "subversive activity against Tajikistan is being initiated from Afghan territory."

Kabul is of the opinion that Tajikistan should resolve its internal conflict independently, without enlisting any outside military force, and through political dialogue

with the Tajik opposition. Kabul is uneasy about the Russian military presence near its borders.

Lieutenant General Anatoliy Chechulin, commander of the group of Russian Border Guards in Tajikistan, has stated that if border troops come under fire from Afghanistan, they are to return fire with all weapons at their disposal.

This extreme measure is justified by the Afghan leadership's powerlessness to control the situation in the border regions and avert audacious strikes by the Islamic opposition and Afghan mojahedin.

It is apparently implied that the targets are the uncontrollable opposition groupings. But how are they to be distinguished?

The gunmen do not stay in the same place; they prefer guerrilla methods of warfare: They arrive in an Afghan village, shell a border post, and go away again. Or small groups cross the border and strike from the rear.

General Chechulin does not share the opinion that armed confrontation between Russian servicemen and the government subunits supporting them on the one hand, and the Islamic opposition on the other, could lead to the outbreak of a new war. The opposition is not strong enough for this, he believes.

However, there is no doubt that the development of events in such a scenario will only lead to an escalation of hostilities.

Moscow faces a choice: Either condemn its small military contingent in Tajikistan to further casualties, or increase its military presence, which risks inevitable embroilment in another war.

Moscow is therefore forcing a start to political dialogue between the Tajik authorities and the Islamic opposition. To this end Anatoliy Adamishin, Russian first deputy foreign minister, has paid a lightning visit to Dushanbe.

It has taken Moscow just over a year of effort for a Russian diplomat finally to be able to declare: The Tajik leadership has displayed its goodwill and expressed its readiness to embark on talks with the opposition.

This is apparently a reference to the most moderate section of the representatives of the Islamic movement. It is planned to hold talks under the auspices of the United Nations. These talks could be held in Moscow. In which case the Russian side would be prepared to undertake to resolve organizational problems. If the talks break down, the blame, according to Adamishin, would lie not with Russia or Tajikistan but with the opposition, which, in the diplomat's words, "could turn nasty."

In a year that has seen no political dialogue whatsoever, the demands of the opponents of the Dushanbe authorities have grown much more exacting. It is symptomatic that the Islamic opposition leaders are inclining toward Tehran as the most acceptable place for them to hold talks. They are clearly hoping for Iranian support and consequently the support of orthodox Muslims in their upcoming dialogue with Moscow and Dushanbe.

Ivanov Confers With Foreign Envoys on Middle East

LD0703164994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1444 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Mar—Within the framework of the Russian diplomatic initiatives undertaken on the instructions of President Boris Yeltsin in connection with the sharp deterioration in the situation in the Middle East, First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov received the ambassadors of the United States, Israel, Egypt, and Lebanon and the charges d'affaires of Syria and Jordan at the Russian Foreign Ministry on 6 and 7 March. Igor Ivanov informed them of efforts by the Russian Foreign Ministry and Minister Andrey Kozyrev at this crucial moment.

He described in detail the main results of his own recent mission to Tunisia and Israel, where he had meetings with Yasir 'Arafat, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, and Foreign Affairs Minister Shim'on Peres. The diplomats were told that, in light of the present situation in the region following the Hebron tragedy, Russia is implementing urgent measures aimed at preventing an escalation of the violence and at preserving and resuming the Middle East peace talks. It was this angle that was taken at the talks in Tunis and Tel Aviv. The participants focused on such important issues as the UN Security Council adoption of an effective resolution aimed at guaranteeing the safety of the civilian Palestinian population in the occupied territories, an international presence there as an additional means to guarantee the population's safety, and also new measures and steps to promote the resumption of the Arab-Israeli dialogue.

During the meeting with ambassadors, Russia reaffirmed its resolute intention, as co-sponsor, to continue its vigorous efforts toward an improvement in the situation in the occupied territories and the urgent resumption of talks. In this connection, a willingness was expressed to maintain the closest of contacts with all interested parties with the aim of tackling the main task that unites them all—namely, the establishment of a comprehensive and stable peace in the Middle East.

Defense Aide on Status of Karabakh Conflict

PM0703145994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 2

[Boris Soldatenko report: "Russia Is Not Renouncing Peacemaking Mission in Karabakh, But Warring Sides Must First Cease Fire Along Entire Front"—quotation marks as published]

[Text] Despite the agreements reached, the situation on the line of confrontation between Armenia and Azerbaijan remains volatile. In the light of this, speculation about the "collapse of the Russian plan to settle the Karabakh problem" is emerging. The warring sides accuse each other of escalating hostilities and of armed provocation aimed at sabotaging agreements on a cease-fire and the withdrawal of troops to previously agreed positions.

So what next? Have all possibilities for a peaceful solution to the conflict been exhausted? Here is what Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, Russian deputy defense minister, has to say about the situation which has emerged:

"Agreement on a 1 March cease-fire was reached and honored. But in respect of the troop withdrawal, there have been definite problems here. Mutual recriminations will continue until such times as the rival armies are separated. Acting as a mediator in this instance, I cannot because of this believe either side at the moment.

To back up his words Georgiy Kondratyev produced two telegrams sent to the Russian Defense Ministry by the chairmen of the Azerbaijani and Armenian military departments concerning the status of hostilities on the morning of 3 March. The Azerbaijani Armed Forces chief of General Staff reports that the Armenian side continues to attack Azeri positions from the populated areas of Ashagi, Seydakhmeldy, and Kargan. The Armenian defense minister also reports that hostilities took place in this region, but makes no mention of the Azerbaijani Army's offensive reported by the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's military department.

"So who is to be believed?" Colonel General Kondratyev continues. "Until a 15- to 20-km security zone is set up, units and subunits from both sides are withdrawn from this zone, and posts erected with the participation of Russian observers, I, as a neutral party, cannot accuse either side of violating the agreements. In other words, until I have my own 'eyes' there, I cannot say precisely who began the offensive.

As we know, on 2 March the Russian Defense Ministry delivered a list of the latest proposals for the cessation of hostilities in the conflict region. In particular, the first point proposes that all sides take the necessary measures to continue honoring the cease-fire regime. In the second and third points it is proposed that the sides withdraw combat hardware and armaments to the agreed areas in the period 2 through 4 March. It is also proposed that in the period 3 through 5 March the parties implement the mutual separation of the sides' troops in two sectors, Mardakert and Fizuli, with the subsequent erection there of mixed observation posts.

The Armenian Defense Ministry wholly agreed to honor all its commitments—but only if representatives of the Azerbaijani Army and the army of Nagorno-Karabakh do the same. In its turn, the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry categorically refused to carry out points two and three and demanded the liberation of territories seized by Armenian armed formations. While the army of Nagorno-Karabakh, laying down no conditions, expressed a readiness to take all measures to continue upholding the cease-fire regime, and by the evening of 2 March it had begun the partial withdrawal of armored equipment from the front line....

Obviously, the situation is extremely complex. And without a more detailed study, Russia cannot honor its commitments enshrined in the talks protocol ratified by all four sides. Here, Russia is assigned the right, in the event of a violation of the accords reached on the cessation of hostilities in the security zones and monitored areas, to apply all necessary measures of influence, up to and including military measures, against formations which have flouted the terms of the current protocol. This protocol provision cannot work, as the actual security zone does not exist today; it is marked only on the maps of the Russian Defense Ministry representatives.

"Even if our proposals are ignored, we will not, nevertheless, sit back with arms folded," Georgiy Kondratyev says. "I have already met with Azerbaijan's ambassador in Moscow and proposed that a plenipotentiary representative of the highest rank be appointed for negotiations. We will fly with him to Armenia and resume talks.

As for the Russian soldiers, they will not be seen in the conflict region, according to a statement by Colonel General Kondratyev, until the gunfire abates and the hostile sides are disengaged.

Duma Chairman Rybkin Leads Delegation to Washington

PM0803091994 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 1

[Report from PRAVDA and ITAR-TASS column: "Russian Duma at U.S. Congress]

[Text] A Russian parliamentary delegation headed by State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin flew to the United States overnight on an an official visit at the invitation of Thomas Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives. It will be received by leaders of the U.S. Congress and the presidential staff. Meetings are planned with representatives of the State Department, the Defense Department, and a number of other departments.

Rybkin Meets With Strobe Talbott

LD0803114894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0957 GMT 8 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Pavel Vanichkin and Vitaliy Chukseyev]

[Text] Washington March 8 TASS— The visiting Russian parliamentary delegation headed by Chairman of the State Duma Ivan Rybkin had a meeting with U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott in Washington on Monday.

Informed sources told ITAR-TASS that the talks focused on the political situation in Russia. The American side displayed deep interest in how relations between the Russian president and parliament are being established. The State Duma chairman assured his interlocutor that notwithstanding all shades of factions in the parliament and differences, the striving for interaction with the president prevails among the legislators.

Such an interaction should be carried out in two key directions: the first one is to untangle the whole knot of economic problems of the country through a stable legislative basis meeting the present state of reforms and the second - to search for a broader consensus for national concord and reconciliation, the duma chairman said.

Rybkin emphasized that as far as he understands, reforms are not at all what was implied at an early stage of their implementation, when the mood of economic euphoria and romanticism were reigning.

Talbott agreed that now the time has come if not for making radical, then at least significant reappraisal of what is happening. Elections in Russia have given Washington a serious signal as to which direction reforms should proceed in, he said. According to him, as far as reforms are concerned the Duma is in constructive mood.

The U.S. deputy secretary of state empnasised that from Washington's point of view, Russia is now playing a positive role in resolving the Bosnian crisis. In his turn, Rybkin said that Russia gives top priority to cooperation with the United States, since in the contemporary world two countries just canot go without each other.

During the talks considerable attention was paid to prospects of cooperation with the CIS states. The American side in principle agrees that Russia is a stablilizing factor in this region and its peace efforts are for the time being not running counter to universally acceptable political standards and deserve Washington's support.

Holds Talks With U.S. House Speaker

LD0703215494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2129 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Pavel Vanichkin and Vitaliy Chukseyev]

[Text] Washington March 8 TASS—Thomas Foley, speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, said on Monday he will provide every possible assistance to the new Russian Parliament to make it truly democratic and respected world-wide.

Speaking at the meeting with visiting Russian State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin in Washington on Monday, Foley said that U.S. lawmakers feel deep respect for the Russian Parliament because it was elected in accordance with juridical and constitutional norms and are looking forward to active cooperation with it. He expressed the hope that the upcoming talks and meetings with members of the Russian delegation will give an impetus to inter-parliamentary cooperation.

Rybkin is in Washington as head of the Russian parliamentary delegation that arrived in U.S. at Foley's invitation.

Views U.S. Ties, Ames Case

LD0803125794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1058 GMT 8 Mar 94

[Text] The Russo-American relations are not easy at the moment "because unnecessary difficulties spring up," Russian State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin said in Washington Monday [7 March].

Answering an Interfax question he said that he had discussed the consequences of the Ames' scandal with American intellectuals in the Russian embassy in Washington.

He had suggested that the Americans should agree to discussing the call made earlier by Yevgeniy Primakov, chief of the Russian Foreign Intelligence who wanted Moscow and Washington to "make each other's intelligences transparent to the other side."

Rybkin said that the Americans did not see much harm in the amnesty. "They share President Boris Yeltsin's and my view that if those who were released make

trouble again they can be sent back to jail and the public opinion would say 'That's where they belong'," he explained.

Rybkin told the journalists who accompanied him that he had agreed with the House of Representatives Speaker Thomas Foley that direct contacts would be established between the two parliaments. In particular, cooperation within the CSCE framework had been discussed. "A joint military organization could become a CSCE tool so that Russia should not be sidelined," he said.

Rybkin added that he and his U.S. counterpart had discussed ratification of START-2 and other international agreements by the Russian parliament and the situation in former Yugoslavia. He said that the crisis there could not be resolved unless Russia and the U.S.A. joined their efforts.

The House of Representatives speaker accepted the invitation to come to Russia on an official visit, Rybkin said.

On Monday Rybkin also met with Lee Hamilton, chairman of the foreign relations committee of the US Congress.

On the conclusion of this meeting he declared that it is necessary to implement several "non-popular measures" in Russia to pursue tough anti-inflation policy, civil peace and accord are necessary for this.

Rybkin referred to Gaydar who declared last September that as many as $20-25 Bn "leak" abroad annually. "One should undertake appropriate measures to return these funds and grant guarantees in order to draw foreign investments into the Russian economy. There is an appropriate majority to solve these issues in the State Duma," he said.

Rybkin criticized actions of the Central Bank for "wasteful allocation of technical credits" to Ukraine, Chechnya, Georgia, Belarus, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. "In absolute numbers the allocated sums exceeded credits being granted by the United States," he noted.

For his part, Lee Hamilton welcomed Rybkin's reassurances "about irreversibility of economic reforms in Russia."

At the same time he pointed out that there can appear "great difficulties" during the voting in the US Congress on allocation of an economic aid to Russia. "Officials in the United States are attentively following the Central Bank of Russia's activity and believe that it rouses hyperinflation," said Lee Hamilton.

Christopher Statement on Russia-CIS Relations Viewed

PM0703125194 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 7

[Article by A. Aleksandrov: "Russia Is Again Being Taught How To Live"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher has made a statement in Congress which as so far failed to attract the attention in our country which it undoubtedly deserves.

The statement is about Russia and its relations with the countries of nearby foreign parts. Acknowledging that the concern expressed by Moscow over the position of the 25 million Russian-speaking citizens living outside Russia in the countries of the former Union should not be considered "unnatural," the secretary of state nonetheless made it extremely clear that concern is one thing but attempts to resolve effectively the many problems which the Russian-speaking population are encountering in the Baltic states, for instance, is something quite different. These attempts, it emerges from Christopher's statements, cannot be made except with the consent and even the authorization of international institutes and forums and best of all with the agreement of the United States itself.

There is no denying that what Moscow undertakes should, as Christopher notes, accord with the letter and spirit of international laws. But another of the secretary of state's important premises cannot fail to give rise to dispute and keen doubt: Even in those situations where a request is made to Moscow by those countries of the former Union "where Russian troops are deployed and the request is for help in safeguarding and preserving peace, Russia cannot respond unilateral to such requests but only in some kind of cooperation with the United Nations or, for instance, the CSCE," Christopher stated. Russians, the chief U.S. diplomat repeated, have the right to appeal to adjacent states "to be concerned for the position of Russian-speaking citizens and to display generosity with regard to them but the United States will resolutely oppose Moscow's adoption of any powerful steps in this direction."

A detail of some importance: Christopher made his statement in response to President Yeltsin's recent speech to Russian parliament. The speech spoke clearly enough of Russia's right to involve itself actively in the development of the situation in the former Union with a view to ensuring stability and the protection of Russians. The secretary of state commented with some scorn on these passages in the Russian president's speech, describing them as something aimed primarily at "a domestic audience."

This speech, Christopher reported, is still being studied in Washington but Washington is prepared to issue a warning right now to Moscow on how it should behave. In the most unequivocal terms.

In my view in the warnings which are now being heard from Washington it is easy to discern an attempt by the Clinton administration to preserve the status to which Russia has been reduced in recent years, particularly by virtue of the chaos, lack of thought, and often simply shortsightedness of our diplomats' actions. The status which Washington automatically guarantees Washington its own absolute superpowerdom on the world arena probably suits the United States completely. It can hardly suit Russia, nor should it.

Everything is the way it was before. Is that not so?

It seems to me that Foreign Minister Kozyrev should have a serious talk about this with Christopher when they meet 14 March in Vladivostok, where the secretary of state is going as part of his Far East tour.

Delegation Head Blames Estonia for Deadlock

PM0703171194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Mar 94 p 3

[Vladimir Berezko report under "POSTSCRIPTUM: Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Prohibited Methods in Round 17, or Why Russian-Estonian Talks Are Deadlocked"]

[Text] It is regrettable to have to state this but it is true that the 17th round of Russo-Estonian talks did not prove satisfactory. This is primarily because, despite the Russian side's efforts, Estonia kept to its old positions on the problem of the situation of the Russian-speaking population in the country. This was stated at a news conference by special envoy Vasiliy Svirin, leader of the Russian state delegation at the talks with Estonia.

The Estonian side suddenly stated that Russia, to Estonia's surprise, intends to link the withdrawal of troops to the solution of problems of the social protection of military pensioners. Estonia believes that Russia is making "unheard-of demands relating to the social protection of military pensioners."

It turns out that by "unheard-of demands" Estonia means the elementary requirements of human rights which are unfailingly observed in any country which presumes to call itself civilized. Russia is insisting that the apartments inhabited by military pensioners have become their private property. In addition, it is the Russian side's opinion that military pensioners must be given a residence permit so as not be outcasts in a country where they have lived for decades. Estonia's demarche is is all the more surprising if you recall that at the 14th round of talks on 15 September 1993 J. Luik, leader of the Estonian Republic delegation, stated that "the articles and provisions of the draft agreement on the social protection of military pensioners and members of their families as agreed at 1 September 1993 remain in force despite divergences with certain provisions of Estonia's law 'On aliens'."

Why has there been such a drastic change of direction in Estonian policy? The troop withdrawal treaty is ready for initialing, but Estonia clearly does not want to sign the agreement on the social protection of military pensioners and, I would venture to assert, made the said statement of consent merely to prompt Russia to withdraw the troops as quickly as possible. The Estonian diplomats' "cunning" tactic, more reminiscent of plain deceit, seems to be a continuation of Tallinn's "drift" into confrontation with Moscow, which is confirmed by Estonian President Lennart Meri's 25 February speech in Hamburg, where the Estonian head of state urged the West "not to trust Russia," which, he claimed, is "pursuing an imperial policy."

However, at the news conference given by the head of the Russian delegation it was stated that the troops will nevertheless be withdrawn from Estonian territory before 31 August 1994 if the treaty on the withdrawal of the troops and the agreement on the social protection of military pensioners and members of their families are signed. "But unless we come to such an agreement," Vasiliy Svirin said, "Russia will decide the troop withdrawal timetable by itself"....

Zhirinovskiy Calls For Elimination of NATO, UN

AU0703211094 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian No. 9, 28 Feb 94 pp 1, 21

[Interview with Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, by 24 CHASA Moscow correspondent Violeta Veselinova in Moscow; date not given: "NATO Should Be Eliminated, As It Is an Insignificant Bloc"]

[Text] Zhirinovskiy no longer wastes his time with journalists without getting money for it. He chases them away unless they pay in hard cash—one minute with him costs a newspaper $100, and a television station—$1,000. However, the politician who is now in the limelight made an exception for 169 CHASA so as to show that he loves the Bulgarians, even though they have had no luck with their president.

[Veselinova] Mr. Zhirinovskiy, has the episode with Zhelev cooled your warm feelings toward the Bulgarians?

[Zhirinovskiy] What can you do? This is what the political struggle is like. Someone has whispered wrong things about me into your president's ear, and he immediately took such measures against me—that is not nice! To expel the leader of the party that won the elections in friendly Russia! At one time in the past they expelled Georgi Dimitrov from Germany for alleged subversive activities, but to expel me from Bulgaria, which I love so much and which I was visiting as a private person.... This is how spies and smugglers are dealt with. I cannot comprehend how freedom of speech is being suppressed in a democratic country. They expel someone because he had allegedly said something that the president did not like. This is stupid. They say Prosecutor Nestor Nestorov

wanted to take me to court because of my words. This again is something monstrous. Is it possible that Zhelev will expel everyone who has said something against him? Thousands of Bulgarians are dissatisfied with his rule! Will he banish all of them? Then he will be left in Sofia on his own, together with three police departments that will constantly repeat that he is a marvelous president.

At home in Russia, people shout "Down with Yeltsin!" every day, yet he does not expel anyone, neither Russians nor foreigners. I appealed through our embassy in Bulgaria against the ultimatum ordering me out of Bulgaria within 24 hours that your Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov signed, but I have not yet been told how far the matter has gone. Everyone whom I told how the Bulgarian president treated me has reacted with disapproval. Not only I, but Todor Zhivkov and the Moscow Communists also said that Bulgaria will be a Transdanubian province and a 16th republic [of the Russian Federation]. Bulgaria and Russia should help each other and they should live together in harmony.

[Veselinova] Why is your voice so hoarse?

[Zhirinovskiy] You journalists are to blame, you have shattered me with your interviews. Instead of gratitude for this, you scare the world by saying I am a fascist. How can I be a fascist when they murdered my uncle?! (He puts on the dress uniform jacket of a captain that he wore on Soviet Army Day.) See, now I am in the uniform of an officer of the Soviet Army that fought against fascism. (He chases away some BBC journalists.) Why should I talk to you? You do not pay anything. I will allow some time for German journalists, because they paid me $30,000 in cash. (Yeltsin rings him on the telephone.)

Russia has always been hedged round with enemies. (Vladimir Zhirinovskiy roams over a map of the world using a pen light. This is a miniature version of the terrible "Elipton" weapon with which the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party is frightening the world. The ballpoint-pen-like instrument has three buttons. If you press the first button, the laser beam acts as a pointer. If you point the second, the other person will collapse unconscious on the floor within three seconds. If you press the third button, you can remove your target from the land of the living.) Our enemies are everywhere, all around us there are enemies, enemies.... We have been at war for 90 years. Our nation's self-confidence is due to our strong army. We have states around us that lay claim to parts of our territory. Finland wants Karelia, the Germans want Kaliningrad, the Poles dream about Lviv, the Romanians want Chisinau, China—our Far East, Japan—the Kuril Islands.... As for our friends the Arabs—Iraq, Syria, the Turks are the most impudent—they insist on taking the whole of the Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and all the land as far as the Altay. You see what impudence this is? Look where Kazakhstan is. What is the result? It is that I was born abroad. Perestroyka ruined everything.

[Veselinova] According to Nostradamus, world war III is supposed to start any moment.

[Zhirinovskiy] There will be no war, never fear. However, the West must take heed of our desires, and we will allow them to keep their existing borders. We have no intention of moving toward the West. The south is what concerns us; here is where the war is. We are only interested in Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan. The Germans should not oppose us, because they too are troubled by the Turks. If a different situation is created in the south regarding Turkey, this will be to Germany's benefit as well. We are ready to improve our relations with the Germans. Why not restore the Berlin-Warsaw-Minsk-Moscow axis? The Poles already have specific proposals in this context. Then, later on, we can extend this axis to the Far East. The Japanese would approve of this idea, they would even invest money in it. How do they transport their goods now? They make a circuit of the globe. (He draws a circle on the map with his pen light.) It will be more beneficial for them if there is a route to the Far East across our territory, and Russia will receive money from the route passing through its territory.

[Veselinova] Are you afraid that NATO will stand behind Turkey?

[Zhirinovskiy] You are mistaken if you believe that the Turks are invulnerable because they are members of NATO. NATO is a weak bloc. The states that are members of NATO have never fought a war, except for Germany, and it does not want to fight. Who will fight if they have to? The Danes? The Norwegians? The French? The Italians? We, on the other hand, have fought the Turks 30 times and beaten them every time. We have no worthy opponents anywhere in the world. NATO is an insignificant bloc, and it should be eliminated. The same goes for the United Nations.

However, Russia is a peaceful country. We will not attack, but we will defend ourselves if necessary. We prefer to win by economic means instead of military ones. Anyone who imagines that Russia is economically weak is making a serious mistake. Russia has always been strong. Now it is simply sick—states fall sick just like people. However, Russia got over its illness on 12 December 1993. Now we intend to pull ourselves upwards by our bootstraps. In two or three years everything will be OK with us, whereas in Germany, for example, the situation will worsen. The rabble that has flooded in—Turks, Arabs, Gypsies, Romanians, the whole mafia of Eastern Europe—will all settle there. If the Germans ask for help when things get really bad for them, then we will come running.

The wars will continue in the world without us. We will sit and wait; we will not meddle in the conflicts. Russia issues no orders to anyone. We merely state our position. However, we do not permit anyone to interfere in our own affairs, as we do not interfere in the affairs of Spain, let us say. They have their Basques and Catalans—let the

Spaniards themselves decide what to do with them. Nor do we stick our noses in Britain's troubles, despite the fact that Ireland has been drowning in blood for 25 years now. Why, then, should they interfere in the Slavs' problems?

[Veselinova] How did you scare NATO into not dropping bombs on Sarajevo?

[Zhirinovskiy] It is true that the people in NATO were very frightened. Russia's intervention happened mainly because of the influence of our faction in parliament. When I was in Bulgaria and Serbia, I told the journalists that if the NATO pilots dare to bomb Serbian towns, this will mean a declaration of war on Russia. If French pilots drop bombs, this will mean war between France and Russia, and if German pilots do so, it will mean war between Germany and Russia. My words had a sobering effect on NATO. You saw that no war started. This means I am right that NATO should dissolve itself. The United Nations has also become outdated. We must form a new organization—a League of European States. Why do we Europeans need an international organization like the United Nations? It is a collection of states from the age of the ox cart. Africa, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia—why should I be interested in their problems? They are at the other end of the earth. The League should be formed between Western and Eastern Europe. Let us solve our own problems and leave them to solve theirs!

The Bosnian conflict is an example of the effectiveness of the old principle of divide and rule. In three years, Yugoslavia has been brought to its knees. The foreign businessmen—the Italians, French, and Germans—have an interest in ruining Yugoslavia's economy, just as they have in ruining Bulgaria's. Then their goods will be bought up, because no others will be available, and the enterprises of Serbia and Bulgaria will go bankrupt. This is a war of the markets.

[Veselinova] Why is the world supporting the Muslims in this conflict?

[Zhirinovskiy] This is the nub of the problem, that the Muslim card is being played again. They allege that the Orthodox Serbs are terrorizing the Catholics and the Muslims. The Serbs are the most numerous. If they are destroyed or scattered over the Balkans, there will be no one left to resist.

For five centuries the Ottoman Empire oppressed the Balkan Slavs. Now the Turks are not only living on Bulgarian territory, engaging in trade, and owning Turkish enterprises, but on top of everything they are even creeping into parliament. It is to the West's benefit to let the Slavs and Turks squabble among themselves. It is high time the Slavs ceased being the object of attacks. To save the Bulgarians from the Turks, they should form an alliance with Russia. We are ready to send a division to the Bulgarian-Turkish border. Bulgaria should not sell its land to the Turks. It is better for Russian enterprises to purchase this land, in return for settlement of debts. Southern Bulgaria is a vacation zone. The miners of the Donbass will like it.

[Veselinova] Demirel is not very fond of you.

[Zhirinovskiy] I do not burn with love for him either, but what is to be done? It is impossible for all the leaders of parties and states to feel sympathy for one another.

[Veselinova] Why did the Austrian prostitute publish such disgusting lies about you?

[Zhirinovskiy] I saw the article, it was published in a German journal. Now I will sue this woman. I demand damages of $100,000. The whole thing is a pack of lies. The lawsuit is in progress in Germany. The aim was to undermine my reputation, to blacken my name. Look, I spent two days in Sveti Vrach, and the Bulgarian newspapers printed nothing compromising about me. The Bulgarians are my friends. We only spent one evening in Vienna. However, their intelligence service is powerful and still operates. They certainly forced this girl to give an interview, even though I have never set eyes on her. There is nothing strange in the fact that they bribed her. In Bulgaria the intelligence service has been abolished—there is no one to organize provocations against me, although no one in your country is trying to throw any dirt at me. I found out that some party gave 20 German marks each to the Turks who catcalled me at the Memorial to the Tsar Liberator. However, we are well practiced in using camcords and cameras, and now we have photographs of all the participants in this paid demonstration.

[Veselinova] How is your party financed?

[Zhirinovskiy] The electors finance it. If each of our voters donates 1,000 rubles—the price of two packs of cigarettes— we will receive 12 billion. Our party has already bought many buildings in Moscow. These will house the offices and clubs of the Liberal Democratic Party.

[Veselinova] You are more interesting to the world than any Hollywood star. Are you paid for your performance?

[Zhirinovskiy] I have introduced a tariff so that people leave me in peace—I am already extremely tired. If anyone cannot pay to talk to me, let him go on his way! A minute's conversation with me costs a newspaper $100, while a television station has to pay $1,000.

[Veselinova] How does your wife react to the fact that you are always busy?

[Zhirinovskiy] Badly. I very seldom show up at home. She is naturally unhappy about it. We quarrel. I see my son once a week.

[Veselinova] Is Yeltsin afraid of you?

[Zhirinovskiy] I do not insist that he should vacate the president's office immediately. There is still time before

the elections. Yeltsin loves to give orders. Maybe he sometimes makes mistakes—that is only human. However, he is what he is. Gorbachev, on the other hand, promised to improve life, and look at what a mess he made of the country. He ruined everything and then ran away, the coward. He is now counting the dollars that he has been given for a job well done.

[Veselinova] Why did you not meet Clinton when he was in Moscow?

[Zhirinovskiy] He asked for a meeting, but I refused, because the invitation was addressed to the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. It should have been addressed to me personally—to Liberal Democratic Party Chairman Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. If I were to send him an invitation, I would address it "to U.S. President Bill Clinton," not to the party that nominated him.

However, the chance of Clinton and me meeting has not been lost. My adviser will soon fly to the United States and arrange this in March or April. We will play golf and go to a ranch. We will have a rest and get to know each other better. After the United States I will probably visit Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

[Veselinova] What is this "Elipton" weapon?

[Zhirinovskiy] It is my personal weapon. I completely destroys buildings and people, not by fire, but with a laser beam that destroys all targets.

[Veselinova] Can you destroy the world with this weapon?

[Zhirinovskiy] Of course I can, but I do not want to. It is important that we possess such a weapon. If any danger threatens us, in the case of extreme necessity there is nothing strange about us using it in certain regions—for defense.

Bosnian Serb Leader Karadzic Interviewed

PM0703151994 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 94 pp 1,3

[Interview with R. Karadzic by Vasiliy Fartyshev in Moscow, date not given: "Radovan Karadzic: 'We Were Merely the First Line of Defense'"]

[Text] There was a meeting at the Russian Federation Writers' Union between the leaders of the writers' organization and Moscow writers and Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs and vice president of the Union of Serbian Writers.

In a cordial and fraternal atmosphere poets and writers from Russia and Serbia talked about the historical ties of friendship and kinship between the two Slavic cultures and the problems facing our peoples today. The Yugoslav colleagues noted the great contribution Russian writers and the general public have made to settling the armed conflict and to the success of the joint opposition to the West's expansionist policy directed against the sovereign republic.

Our correspondent asked politician, poet, and doctor Radovan Karadzic to answer a few PRAVDA questions.

[Fartyshev] Comrade Karadzic, what is your opinion of Russia's recent initiative on settling the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Karadzic] We are uncommonly heartened and grateful for all that Russia has done for Serbia. Many attempts are being made in the world today to resolve the Yugoslav problem without the participation of an entire people, and it is perhaps the grimmest period in Serbian history. During World War II we learned first-hand what genocide means: The Hitlerites destroyed 700,000 Serbs as well as a large number of Jews and gypsies. We have failed to preserve a unified Yugoslavia as a state, but we are making every effort to uphold the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is why throughout the 22 months of the war we have been defending our territory and our people, in order to prevent further, "civilized" genocide. We have created and formalized our own Serbian Republic, and a treaty on this will be ratified in the very near future.

The Russian action helped overcome confrontation with NATO, and, as a result of this, I believe Russia emerged in the world political arena as an independent force to be reckoned with.

[Fartyshev] Many of my colleagues who have been in Yugoslavia when battles have been raging have said that the Serbs were bewildered by Russia's long "silence" and were accusing us of inaction. Tell me, in the minds of your ordinary citizens are the Kremlin and Russia synonymous?

[Karadzic] No, we see a difference between Kremlin officialdom and the Russian people, who have had truly fraternal feelings for us Slavs for centuries. I am sure that ordinary people are well aware of the difference. "If the Serbs cannot be destroyed, let's befriend them"—that is more or less the metamorphosis that has occurred in the case of your Foreign Ministry.

[Fartyshev] Tell me, did you ask Russia for aid—two years ago or after that?

[Karadzic] No, we did not ask for aid. But I admit that we were hoping to get it. And it came.

Incidentally, I must say that Russian writers and their protests and solidarity with us had a big influence on your government.

[Fartyshev] Radovan, you are a well-known poet. Just before this war you were presented with a prize for making a major contribution to the development of Yugoslav children's poetry. How do you manage to combine politics and poetry?

[Karadzic] When Yugoslavia was torn apart we writers were forced to become politicians. Now most writers in my country are politicians, and they have done a very great deal to defend the Serbian people and their sovereignty. We have always studied the classics of Russian literature, without which there would be no world literature. In the same way, without Russian politics there can be no world politics.

As a poet I am very grateful to a number of Russian publications for publishing my poetry at what is a most difficult time for my country.

[Fartyshev] There was one particular phrase that struck me in Dostoyevskiy's "Diaries"—to the effect that the time would come when the southern Slavs would "set us an example." What do you think he meant?

[Karadzic] As I see it, what he meant was that we, the southern Slavs, live on the border between East and West. In the present war Yugoslavia was merely the first line of defense for Slavdom and Orthodox culture in general. This war was a dress rehearsal for what lay in store for Russia. A veritable blitzkrieg was mounted against us. The West, NATO, and Germany were planning to deal with Yugoslavia in two months. But they did not manage it even in two years. Next in their plans was Albania, and then the dirct route to Russia. But we are not talking, of course, about outright aggression, no, the main task is to split peoples, make them quarrel among themselves, make Russia small. Never let yourself be divided—that is one of the lessons of our war.

Take Ethiopia, another Orthodox country. It lost Eritrea, and with it access to the sea. And no one in the world interceded on its behalf. The same might have happened to us, had not great Russia interceded on Orthodox, Slavic, fraternal Serbia's behalf.

[Fartyshev] Tell me, has the war ended or is this just a pause?

[Karadzic] I would like to believe that the war will end soon. And we will create a new border between East and West, so that there are no more intrigues against the Slavic world.

[Fartyshev] Are the intrigues still going on?

[Karadzic] I heard a speech by Zbigniew Brzezinski recently. He always talked with great passion about the fight against Bolshevism. There is no Bolshevism now, but he is just as vicious when he talks about the fight against Russia. I realized that it is not actually a matter of communist ideology—Brzezinski and dozens of special institutes in the West have been fighting and will continue to fight against the USSR, Russia, and the Russian people.

Political Issues

Security Council Aide on Anticrime Program

PM0803093394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 94 First Edition pp 1,2

[V. Klimov report on interview with Vladimir Rubanov, deputy secretary of the Security Council; place and date not given: "How Much Does Law and Order Cost? The Security Council Has Examined the Federal Program for Intensifying the Fight Against Crime"]

[Text] Something which has been discussed many times in the mass media, and has always—especially recently—provoked heightened interest, has come to pass. Yesterday the Russian Federation Federal Program for Intensifying the Fight Against Crime for 1994-1995 was examined in the country's Security Council and, after criticisms had been taken into account, was recommended to be sent for ratification by the Russian Federation president.

The draft program is a Morocco-bound book comprising 84 pages. Not many, one might think, but it is the quintessence of the colossal labor of many people. The book is divided into two parts. The first part examines today's requirements, the second examines long-term prospects. Everything is terse and absolutely clear: Urgent measures for intensifying the fight against crime are denoted, and the specific officials charged with implementing them are defined.

What is the essence of the federal program? What does it promise for Russians in the future? How did work on it proceed? Our observer Vladimir Klimov turned to Vladimir Arsentyevich Rubanov, deputy secretary of the Security Council, for answers to these questions.

[Rubanov] The program enables efforts to be concentrated in terms of time, place, and purpose. The legislator works in harness with law-enforcement organs, and they in turn work with social security organs, and so forth. The concentration of efforts presupposes a programmatic conception of the problem and the coordination of the actions of all elements of state power in the name of common goals.

The cornerstone of the federal program is the formulation of priority normative acts and guidelines for law-giving activity aimed at lowering the level of crime and increasing the protection of the individual in general. But it is not enough to prepare the necessary legislative acts; it is also necessary to define clear mechanisms for their implementation and interaction. The first section of both parts of the program deals with this.

The second part deals with crime prevention. It is important not only to detect crime and punish the culprits, but also to prevent it in good time. The priority measures projected in the federal program will enable us to increase society's protection against criminal infringements and to protect the individual from crime.

Later in the program are two sections formulated for the sphere of specific actions. These include the fight against crimes against the individual, economic crime, and organized and gangland crime. It is necessary to dwell on the latter forms of crime in particular. For a considerable number of citizens crime has now become their major profession, and the level of organization among criminal formations is increasing. Whole criminal structures are being formed which are capable of influencing political and economic life in individual regions of Russia and in the country as a whole. Crime has become international. It is already spreading from Russia to remote foreign parts.

But the nearby foreign parts are a separate question. We have too many links with the CIS countries. Apart from anything else, we still, unfortunately, have in effect a single criminal area. But now state mechanisms have been delineated. In this connection questions of interstate organizational collaboration between the CIS countries in this sphere are a priority. Common organizational and legal principles and specific interstate treaties are essential.

In point of fact, this is why the program has appeared, because new problems cannot be resolved in the framework of the old relations and the mechanisms through which they were conducted.

Many people worked on the compilation of the program. But above all I would like to note the work of the Security Council's Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Crime and Corruption, which is headed by Minister of Justice Yuriy Khamzatovich Kalmykov. This commission will in fact most likely become the coordinating organ for the implementation of the program. Representatives of about 20 departments sit on this commission.

The federal program was directly prepared and written by a group of 36 people. They are well-known academics, lawyers, executives, and economists. The program went through three stages of coordination with ministries and departments. It was subjected to expert study by eminent specialists. One of these was lawyer and academician Vladimir Nikolayevich Kurdryavtsev.

Following the expert studies many criticisms were, as a rule, submitted to us. In all somewhere in the order of 1,500 were examined. The criticisms were taken into account in the final version of the draft program. As a result the document was not only professionally prepared, as was noted at the last session chaired by the secretary of the Security Council, but was also highly politically coordinated.

The program was six months in preparation. Activity on the work was stepped up in late 1993. The contribution

made by specialists of the sector for supporting the activity of the Security Council's Interdepartmental Commission was especially great. This sector is headed by Anatoliy Pavlovich Korotkov.

All three versions of the program were precisely costed; after all, a program without resource backing is simply a slogan. The initial version was a wish list. It cost 16 trillion rubles [R], which was clearly unrealistic. It was necessary to lower our sights. The second version cost somewhere in the order of R10 trillion. This sum also proved to be out of the reach of the budget. In connection with this a dispute arose in the Interdepartmental Commission between the leaders of the law-enforcement departments and the financiers. Law-enforcement officials stated that they did not want to deceive society by projecting goals which were unattainable without resource backing. If we want to change the situation, the corresponding impact can be achieved only with additional investments.

However, even in these disputes everyone understood that, given the rigid economy drive, it was necessary to decrease expenditure. The final version of the program was also thoroughly costed. It was reduced by almost half. However, it was decided at the Security Council session to carry out a further estimate in order finally to determine the level of funding.

These funds have been distributed to the structures which are directly engaged in fighting crime. More than one-third is going to increase the cadres of the law-enforcement organs. We are a long way behind in information support, and a considerable proportion of the funds allocated will be spent on this. The rest will be spent on supplying weapons and special equipment, building premises for law and order organs, and other basic necessities.

An unreasonable desire to economize in the fight against crime would mean us losing more than we gain. After all, in the law-enforcement spheres we count only the cost, disregarding the economic and social benefit. I will not go into all the finer details; I will say only that, according to the methods which are accepted in world practice and recommended by the United Nations, the benefit of law-enforcement measures is bound to exceed the cost by roughly twofold.

That is talking money. But what figures do you use to assess the following fact: According to the forecasts of a Ministry of Internal Affairs scientific research institute, intensifying the fight against crimes against the individual will enable the lives of 20,000 Russian citizens to be saved.

The Federal Program for Intensifying the Fight Against Crime has been examined on a working basis several times already. Almost all questions have been removed. The Security Council has expressed an on the whole positive attitude to the program and ordered it to be finalized within one week, taking account of the criticisms made in the Security Council, and then to be submitted for the president's approval. The government has been instructed to provide the funding for the program.

GLASNOST Campaigns for USSR Restoration

PM0803094594 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 94 p 2

[Interview with GLASNOST Chief Editor Yuriy Izyumov by Viktor Kozhemyako; place and date not given: "GLASNOST Once More Has a Voice. Conversation With Political Weekly's Chief Editor"]

[Text] We have already reported that the political weekly GLASNOST has begun publishing once again after a gap of several months. At the request of readers, I met with Chief Editor Yuriy Izyumov and asked him a number of questions.

[Kozhemyako] Yuriy Petrovich, not everyone is aware of what happened to your newspaper. Why were readers deprived of it for so long?

[Izyumov] GLASNOST, along with PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and other opposition publications, was banned by order of the Russian Ministry of the Press and Information on that fateful 4 October last year. Moreover, that same day people burst into the editorial office armed with sections of steel pipe and other equipment. The place was ransacked. Then, on the instructions of the presidential administration, the journalists were robbed of the building that we had legally occupied since the day the newspaper was founded. I filed charges with the People's Court in Moscow's Sverdlovskiy Rayon protesting flagrant tyranny.

The case has finally has been examined. The court found the Ministry of Press and Information order banning the weekly unlawful and overturned it. The newspaper is with us again!

[Kozhemyako] How do you define your present stance in the multifaceted world of newspapers? What guides you in shaping your course?

[Izyumov] We are still a communist newspaper. We have close links with the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU and will, as far as we are able, promote the restoration of the CPSU as a unified Communist Party and the USSR as a unified state. We are convinced that the USSR cannot be restored without the restoration of a unified Communist Party. The sooner all communists join forces, the faster such vital tasks for all the peoples as the cessation of fratricidal wars and the restoration of Soviet power will be accomplished.

[Kozhemyako] How do you see the weekly taking shape as a unionwide newspaper?

[Izyumov] No borders and customs houses can prevent us from writing about the life of working people and pressing problems throughout the territory of the Soviet Union. We are trying and will continue trying to provide

articles from every republic in each edition and tell the truth about what is going on there. It is important to help people grasp the political hurly-burly around them. To this end we will talk about the nature of various parties, political associations, major firms, and banks. Whereas others paint some as angels and others as devils, we plan to publish objective portraits of the best-known figures from all the republics.

[Kozhemyako] What can you say about your political opponents' attitude to the weekly?

[Izyumov] Our motto is only to tell the truth about everything, whether anyone likes it or not. To our great regret virtually no one likes the truth. That is why we have so many enemies among our political opponents. Regrettably, we are experiencing some animosity from some of our comrades in arms. Their long CPSU membership has not taught them to respond correctly to criticism.

[Kozhemyako] What difficulties is the editorial office experiencing?

[Izyumov] There are certainly many difficulties. We are glad that despite all the ordeals, the material hardship, and the severe repressive pressure the editorial collective has survived and even grown stronger—as a collective of like-minded people working not so much for their pay as for a noble idea. But our money problems are extremely acute. In addition, subscription has been wrecked and the distribution system disrupted. During the four-month ban the editorial office lost all its financial income and its bank account was seized. That is why GLASNOST asks communists and all the newspaper's friends to:

—collect donations to enable us to continue publishing the newspaper;
—organize circulation of GLASNOST via party organizations;
—promptly convey urgent information to the editorial office.

Our mailing address is: GLASNOST Editorial Office, 14 New Square, Moscow 103132. Telephone: 231-47-18.

Government Strength Presages Period of Stability

PM0803101594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 94 p 2

[Sergey Chugayev article: "Unity of President and Premier Promises Russia a Temporary Period of Internal Political Stability"]

[Text] It was only to be expected that the prime minister's speech at the enlarged session of the Russian Government would not satisfy everyone. Indeed, it showed that the government does not have an integrated economic policy. And it cannot have. It is impossible to find anything like the present situation either around the world or in Russian history. The reserves have been exhausted, and the only way out is to maneuver between inflation economic collapse. No miracle-working prescriptions for salvation exist. This, in fact, can be considered the chief topic of V. Chernomyrdin's speech. So it only remains to surmise how skillfully the government will succeed in executing this maneuver.

Meanwhile it seems that the political consequences of what happened in the Kremlin 4 March lend themselves to a more exact prognosis. Given the president's overall strategic supremacy, the monolithic union which the president and the premier displayed at the session and the clear demarcation of responsibilities between them—B. Yeltsin assumes full control of the military-political bloc, leaving economic problems to Chernomyrdin—give grounds for concluding that the executive in Russia is probably as strong and united as it has ever been since the end of 1991. This circumstance gives Russia the opportunity to enter a period of internal political stability, albeit a temporary one.

It seems obvious that, despite its many shortcomings, the new Russian Constitution today plays a positive role as the main stabilizing factor. The predominance of the president's constitutional rights enables him, having a loyal government, to neutralize the danger stemming from the opposition concentrated in the lower chamber of parliament. This is also convincingly proved by the story of the development of the mini-crisis connected with the Duma's political amnesty decision.

By letting the Lefortovo prisoners go free, the Duma has essentially let off the opposition's steam. No more effective results have been achieved. In the situation which has taken shape since then none of the Duma factions is interested in finding itself in the role of being a source of destabilization. None of the parties which have entered the Duma and thereby gotten an image of respectability will wish to part with it, since the interests of each of them are linked with the future presidential election. This is why, among themselves, the Duma communists are stigmatizing V. Anpilov for his statements about returning soon to vigorous political activity. This is why A. Rutskoy and R. Khasbulatov have been forced to publish statements of political passivity. In turn it has to be considered no coincidence that the president's team on 4 March took a demonstrative step away from the democrats toward the "legal Marxists."

Following the amnesty decision a period of struggle against the president ended for the Duma and a stage of heavy lawmaking work began. Because the improvement of the state structure must not be tackled without parliament, and for the president this is one of the most important tasks today. At the same time the new Constitution, having strengthened the president's power and promoted stabilization, has also fully laid bare the importance under present conditions of the problem of the head of state's health. It is not difficult to trace in the examples of last July's internal political mini-crisis and the recent February one the fact that the president has only to fall ill for the situation in the country instantly to

exacerbate. On the other hand, as soon as the president returns to active work, it at once calms down.

The political results of the government's enlarged session enable us to assume that Russia can reckon on a quiet life, at least for the next few months. It is even possible that the traditional spring offensive by the opposition's extremist wing will not affect this process. But a subsequent exacerbation of the situation seems highly likely. The problem of growing unemployment has all the potential to become the chief destabilizing factor. It will primarily depend on the prime minister how successful he is in neutralizing this danger by implementing those ideas in his speech which deal with the organization of public works and with other measures that can curb the social explosion. But subsequently, as the presidential election approaches, the spiral of political confrontation will inevitably grow, and it is perfectly possible that approximately six months before the voting the Duma will pass a vote of no confidence in the government in order to neutralize the prime minister politically.

Federal Assembly

Decree on Troop Contingent for Bosnian Force

PM0703142594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Mar 94 p 6

[Federation Council Decree No. 48-1 SF "On the Allocation of an Additional Troop Contingent to the UN Protection Forces"]

[Text] Having examined the Russian Federation president's appeal, in response to a request from the UN secretary general to Russia on the allocation of an additional troop contingent to the UN protection forces in former Yugoslavia, in connection with the conclusion of a cease-fire agreement in the Sarajevo zone (Bosnia and Herzegovina), the Federation Council decrees:

1. That agreement be given to the allocation of an additional troop contingent of 300 men to take part in the UN protection forces in former Yugoslavia with a view to ensuring control over the unconditional fulfillment by the warring sides of the cease-fire agreement in the Sarajevo zone (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

2. That the Russian Federation Government be instructed to resolve questions connected with the formation, on a voluntary basis, of the relevant troop contingent under the conditions envisaged by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet 6 March 1992 decree "on the participation of a troop contingent in the UN peacekeeping operations in Yugoslavia," dispatching it to form part of the UN protection forces in the former Yugoslavia.

3. That the Russian Federation Government, upon a submission from the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, be instructed urgently to resolve the question of increasing wages for personnel in the Russian UN protection forces contingent in the former Yugoslavia.

4. That the Russian Federation Defense Ministry in conjunction with the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry be instructed to elaborate immediately a system of social guarantees for Russian personnel taking part in UN peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia and to coordinate it within the established procedure within the UN Secretariat.

5. That the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry be instructed to perform work to allocate additional posts for Russian officers in the UN protection forces staffs in the former Yugoslavia.

6. That it be recommended to the Russian Federation Government that it coordinate the actions of various departments and galvanize their work to finally resolve the Bosnian crisis by political means.

7. That the Federation Council commission for questions of security and defense be instructed to monitor the execution of this decree.

[signed] V.F. Shumeyko, chairman of the Russian Federation's Federation Council Federal Assembly, Moscow, 25 February 1994.

Shakhray Comments on Duma Amnesty Decree

PM0703154594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Mar 94 p 3

[Petr Karapetyan report: "Sergey Shakhray on the Amnesty and the Concept of Civil Reconciliation"]

[Text] Sergey Shakhray met with journalists 5 March. At your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondewnt's request he gave his version of the political amnesty declared by the State Duma. Who gained from it? I believe, Shakhray said, that the prime benefactor of this amnesty is Russian society. But, he stressed, both the president and the prime minister gained, too. What form does this take? When the passions and emotions subside it will perhaps transpire that the interests of the president and the Duma coincided, albeit tactically. Some Duma deputies have achieved their aim in entering the Duma—to secure the release of the participants in the October events. Subsequently the Duma's interests will diverge from those of the ex-prisoners because the Duma has leaders of its own who do not want the reinforcement of Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, and the rest. They have no interest in that. In addition, they are not averse to preserving their image as initiators of civil reconciliation. After all, that is also politically very advantageous.

The president and the government, in turn, benefit more from having Khasbulatov and Rutskoy at liberty than in Lefortovo prison. Why is that? So long as they remain in jail they create the impression of an imprisoned vice president and an imprisoned Supreme Soviet chairman. But once they have accepted the amnesty from the

Duma's hands then, no matter what reservations they may have, they will have admitted a degree of political guilt. Now each of them can return to power only after elections have been held.

In addition, the amnesty act averted the acute political crisis that was expected in April-May. Society has been given a respite of several months. That respite must be used by all political forces to prevent clashes. I believe, Sergey Shakhray said, that the political amnesty saved Chernomyrdin's job as premier and strengthened the president's position because it muddled the political alignment of forces which were prepared for a crisis this spring.

Duma Chairman Rybkin Pledges Support for Press

PM0703175194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 94 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "In the State Duma": "Deputies Concerned Over Press Freedom"]

[Text] At a meeting with chief editors, State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin proposed the formation of a working group to prepare a draft law on the functioning of the mass media in 1994-1995. According to initial reports, this group is to include newspaper editors and representatives of news agencies and television and radio broadcasting companies.

The editors cited as the causes of the current crisis of the "fourth estate" the monopolism of the Ministry of Communications and the impossibility of destatizing printing plants with the participation of editorial collectives. In the words of Pavel Gusev, chairman of the Moscow Union of Journalists, the mechanism for subsidizing publications must be immediately changed, creating equal conditions of survival for them. It was also observed that all branches of power should be legislatively prohibited from being sponsors of mass media.

Ivan Rybkin gave assurances that the State Duma has no "pretensions to run or control the press." He stressed that the State Duma intends to support the mass media and save them from the "burden of ruthless economic censorship."

Ivan Rybkin proposed that mass media leaders join in elaborating the draft law on the functioning of the mass media in 1994-1995, which will enable the press to secure a dignified existence in the crisis period. In his opinion, this draft law should include priority measures to ensure the press' survival. The draft law is due to be examined in session by the State Duma in late April.

Regional Affairs

Draft Decree on Moscow Region Conversion Approved

PM0803145794 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 1

[Aleksandr Yegorov report from the "News" roundup: "Conversion Has Begun in Earnest in Moscow, It Seems"]

[Text] Moscow—At a joint sitting of the Moscow Government and the board of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry, a draft decree "On the 'Conversion for the City' Regional Program for the Conversion of Moscow Region Defense Enterprises" was approved on the whole.

On the proposal of Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, who did not conceal his negative attitude toward privatization "Chubays-style," a supplement concerning the flotation of the capital's "defense sector" was excluded from the draft. Yuriy Luzhkov stated that Moscow requires particular terms and methods for denationalizing industrial enterprises. As for financing the program, according to the premier's assurances, at least 147 billion rubles will be made available in 1994.

Sobchak Death Plot Story 'Political Joke'

PM0803112394 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 1,2

[Nikolay Volynskiy report: "A Political Joke From the Times of Yevno Azef"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—A shocking report was issued by the antiterrorist service of the St. Petersburg Administration of the Federal Counterintelligence Service [FCS]: A group of terrorists were intending to kill city mayor Anatoliy Sobchak and organize an attack on Government House in Moscow! The report was immediately picked up by the press and television.

A few days later, the same service circulated reports and a video about its operation to capture another "villain"—Russian Party Chairman Nikolay Bondarik, who was a candidate for the city assembly. It turns out that he too was preparing various terrorist acts. A report on the Independent Television channel said that Bondarik's people had already killed someone. A group of armed men in camouflage uniforms and masks were shown seizing Bondarik, who was maintaining the calm of an Ancient Egyptian. The fighters were fearlessly twisting the arms of some weedy youth, a partner in crime, who had "offered resistance" to a dozen splendidly armed staffers of the antiterrorist service.

All this information, reported to the press at a news conference specially called by the FCS administration, has generated a mass of questions. The "Great Russia" pre-election association, which the candidate for the city

assembly belonged to, has issued a protest over his arrest and expressed the hope that a mistake was made. For several days I tried unsuccessfully to meet with A. Kuznetsov, leader of the antiterrorism service. There must obviously be a really large number of terrorists spread around town.

But if we are talking about a specific case—the arrest of five individuals who had seized some weapons, then the question arises, like in the well-known joke about Cowboy Joe: "How can someone need uncatchable Joe?" For the very reason that he is "uncatchable." Any high official of the FCS administration or the Internal Affairs Main Directorate with whom I have discussed the possibility of an attempt on Sobchak has responded with an ironic smile.

However, let us assume that the five, headed by retired Captain A. Bogdanov, as the FCS Administration reports, did nevertheless take it into their head to deprive the St. Petersburg population of its beloved mayor. From the clinical point of view, how right in the head are they? After all, they had also hatched another terrible plan: to carry out an attack on the government building in Moscow, which could be seized by terrifying a few thousand professionals from the Kremlin security guard.

The five, as has been officially reported, tried to seize some weapons. They attacked the security room of the "Zarya" science and production association, where (I quote VECHERNIY PETERBURG) "they tied up the female security guards and took several revolvers and several thousand cartridges for them from a safe. As they were leaving the security department the bandits found people waiting for them who were certainly not elderly women. The operation to capture them took a few seconds."

"We had them under surveillance for quite a long time," A. Kuznetsov said, reporting the sensational details of the capture.

But, excuse me, if the surveillance took a long time, does that mean that an agent of the FCS administration had been infiltrated into the group? Meaning that the agent behaved like the unforgotten Yevno Azef, who was leader of the Combat Organization of Socialist Revolutionaries and simultaneously the most valued agent of the Czarist police department. And objectively speaking, the role of the FCS administration agent was a provocative one, since measures were not taken to put an end to the preparation of the crime. In this episode the crime was carried through. Consequently, those who were carrying out surveillance of this group "for quite a long time" were interested in it being committed. Which leads to the conclusion that the episode involving the arrest of the five putative capturers of Government House in Moscow is a political card, pure and simple, played at a time of a deterioration in relations on the political Olympus. This is also informed by the persistent repetition in the FCS that all five were allegedly involved in the October (1993) events in Moscow, sided with the defenders of the House of Soviets, and decided to avenge the defeat of the lawful authorities.

Equally surprising questions arise when you analyze the arrest of N. Bondarik, who has also been declared to be a terrorist. Who was killed by Bondarik and his accomplices has not been reported, yet this is a factor of most fundamental importance.

In connection with Bondarik's arrest, Independent Television showed some object resembling a sawed-off shotgun and said that Bondarik and co. had been illegally hoarding weapons. Had this shotgun killed some state figure?

And what about the theft of revolvers and cartridges from the "Zarya" science and production association? Some 2,000 rounds (some newspapers talk about "several thousand") taken from a place where the elderly lady guards are most often issued with revolvers which—to prevent unpleasantness—are completely rustfree?

But if the conclusions from the inevitable questions are correct, the verdict is equally correct: The operations described above were pretty crude! In general all these matters are quite a long way removed from counterintelligence tasks. They are much closer to the political surveillance whose elimination was announced by President Yeltsin when he dismantled the Russian Federation Ministry of Security, in the probable belief that his stupid subjects would believe that the state can manage without political surveillance. Surveillance there is, but it looks like it is guided not by state tasks but by the whims of its immediate boss.

Yeltsin Releases Representative in Tambov

PM0703151394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 94 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Official Report"]

[Text] By edict of the Russian Federation president, Valentin Vladimirovich Davituliani has been released from the post of the Russian Federation president's representative in Tambov Oblast at his own request (Article 31 of the Russian Federation Labor Law Code).

By decree of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council, Vladimir Apollonovich Nikitov is confirmed as leader of the Federation Council apparatus.

Vologda Governor Seen Establishing 'Dictatorship'

PM0803122994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 2

[Viktor Filippov report: "All Power to the Governor. 20 March Could Be the Last Day of Democracy in Vologda Region"]

[Text] Vologda—Governor Nikolay Podgornov's decree on the 20 March elections to the oblast duma and local self-government organs have angered Vologda politicians from both right and left. Meanwhile the oblast prosecutor's office has protested against the decrees because they do not accord with the Russian Constitution and the president's edicts.

But the governor has rejected the prosecutor's office protest and has pretended not to notice the critical comments made by communists, agrarians, and even "Democratic Russia" supporters—incidentally, to date the last-named group had supported Podgornov. Since the regional elections complete the reform of the authorities, they should calm the political situation. But no—the Vologda people have become even more worried.

"I am disturbed that the constitutional principle of the separation of powers has been violated," Albert Volkov, senior physician from the city of Sokol and candidate for the oblast Duma, says. "Administration employees have been allowed to run for the oblast Duma. I am afraid that our representative authority will be swallowed up by the executive."

Volkov's fear is not without foundation. Eighteen officials from the oblast and rayon administrations have been registered as candidates for the 115 deputies' seats in the oblast Duma. But experience of previous elections shows that authority members have incomparably greater chances of winning electors' votes than ordinary candidates.

But while the oblast Duma's future depends, if only to a small extent, on Vologda inhabitants' choice, Podgornov has unconditionally subordinated local self-government organs to the executive branch. Under a statute approved by him, the dumas in Vologda and Cherepovets will be run by the heads of these cities' administrations, appointed by the governor. As for rayon assemblies, they are generally being formed from leaders of village and settlement administrations. Podgornov has abolished representative authority in the ancient cities of Totma, Belozersk, Velikiy Ustyug, Kirillov, and Ustyuzhna, where it has existed for centuries.

The governor has called a referendum on the adoption of an oblast charter at the same time as the elections on 20 March. The draft of this fundamental law for the Vologda region has been prepared by a narrow circle of people appointed by Podgornov. Representatives of parties and movements were not allowed to work on the project and, when the document was finally published at the end of February, they saw that their worst fears had come true.

"I personally cannot vote for this charter," Sergey Smirnov, a leader of the Vologda branch of "Democratic Russia," says. "Property must be under the control of two branches: The representative branch disposes and the executive manages. But under the draft charter the possession, use, disposal, and management of all the oblast's property is effected by the executive branch in the person of the governor. That is nothing but dictatorship.

In the opinion of Russian presidential representative Guriy Sudakov, the draft charter preserves the idea of separatism, which the oblast Soviet tried to implement by proclaiming the "Vologda Republic" in May 1993. All the oblast's natural resources are proclaimed the exzclusive property of those who live here, while there is not a word about Russia. And the governor—the effective owner of the Vologda region—is distanced from the federal authorities: Under the Vologda charter he cannot be removed from his post even by the Russian president.

The oblast has over 900,000 voters, yet the administration printed the draft charter only in its newspaper KRASNYY SEVER, whose print run is only 29,000 copies. So Vologda inhabitants are familiar with the proposals it contains only through hearsay.

When RUSSKIY SEVER, another Vologda newspaper, ventured to speak critically of the governor's actions, at a press conference Podgornov called journalists a corrupt group of people trying to discredit him on Moscow's orders and receiving very large sums of money for doing so. The governor's monologue was immediately shown by the "Vologda" television channel. According to RUSSKIY SEVER journalists the governor is determined to "remove" Chief Editor Vladimir Pantsyrev from the newspaper and, if the editorial office opposes this, to evict it from its building, which is oblast property.

Moscow Stops Sakhalin Oblast Election Plans

OW0703180194 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 1132 GMT 23 Mar 94

[Video interview with S. Ryazantsev, member of Sakhalin Oblast election commission; by unidentified reporter; from the "Dalniy Vostok" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The attempt by Sakhalin residents to create a bicameral oblast parliament was not successful. The oblast was corrected by Moscow.

[Begin recording] [Ryazantsev] The Moscow authorities wanted, on one hand, to box our ears and put the regions in their place so that they would not act too independently, and on the other hand, the goal is probably to whittle down our representative power and reduce it, making it into some kind of decorative screen.

Frankly, my first emotional response was as follows: If Article 77 of the Russian Constitution, which postulates that nomination of oblast and kray authorities is the prerogative of federation members, is being directly violated here, then we should not do it, we should just distance ourselves from it and not do such work. But on the other hand, the representative power has to be elected. Even if I and other members of the commission

leave, the elections still need to be carried out. The only thing we will accomplish is making the elections more difficult.

[Reporter] So you are staying?

[Ryazantsev] For the time being, I am, and I think that other members of the election committee also are not seriously considering leaving. But like an aftertaste, a very bitter residue remains. [end recording]

Soskovets Comments on 'Siberian Agreements' Proposals

PM0703134594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Mar 94 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Golyayev: "In Siberia Too an Owner Must Be an Owner"]

[Text] The Russian regions belonging to the "Siberian agreements" association have elaborated a package of proposals for the government on changes to the foreign economic activity mechanism.

Returning Friday evening from a routine session of this association, in a talk with journalists First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets noted the fairness of the Siberians' demands. "They still have no right to export or to form banks, which are all in Moscow, particularly oil banks. The situation must be rectified. There is nothing more terrible than the centralization of finances. There are strong people and science in Siberia—an enormous potential and the world's richest region are in such a lamentable state. There is no logic to it."

"Today over 60 percent of the regions live on subsidies from the center. There should be a very balanced policy for transferring powers to the localities. The management of property locally through instructions from Moscow, as some departments are doing, is impermissible and unnecessary. It is property which is the main priority for local organs. The enterprise collectives must be the genuine owners and really feel that they are the owners. That will be both rational and respectful with regard to people and to the labor collective which in this instance workers for itself, for the interests of the region, and ultimately for the state. So far," the first vice premier stressed, "we treat property formally. I hope that the second stage of voucher privatization will make it possible to remove many so far unresolved questions."

"What is your attitude toward the appearance of questions in the press asking 'Who is Oleg Soskovets working for?'"

"Of course it is unpleasant but not because they have pointed a finger at me. Someone is trying to 'make politics,' resorting to utterly incorrect facts and interpreting them as they want."

N. Ossetia Leader Supports Yeltsin Statehood Concept

LD0703211394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2054 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 7 TASS—"The expanded session of the government of the Russian Federation has mapped out the contours of our common approach towards solving economic problems," North Ossetian President Askharbek Galazov said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS at Vladikavkaz's airport upon his return from Moscow on Monday, Galazov said that he supported the idea of strengthening Russian statehood announced by President Boris Yeltsin. This provides the basis for continuing reform, overcoming the crisis, carrying out structural reform and creating conditions for economic, political and social stabilisation, Galazov said. He welcomed the president's state-of-the-nation address as a starting point for developing and carrying out social and economic policy in regions.

Speaking about the prospects for implementing economic reforms in North Ossetia, its leader said that the republic is an integral part of Russia. Its multi-national population cannot perceive its development in isolation from other republics and regions of the North Caucasus and the rest of Russia.

Galazov described the situation in the republic as stable. However, there are certain forces in the region which are seeking to push the peoples of North Ossetia and Ingushetia to confrontation, he said. Galazov confirmed his initiative to hold, without mediators, a meeting between the presidents of North Ossetia and Ingushetia to discuss ways to restore peace and streamline bilateral relations.

Chechen President's Edict on Entry-Exit Regulations

LD0703203894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2033 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy March 7 TASS—Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev issued a decree on Monday to tighten regulations for entering or leaving the republic. Under the decree, those who want to enter or leave the Chechen Republic will have to register with the republican security department five days in advance.

The president explained that the move has been prompted by the need to "thwart attempts of subversive activity against the Chechen Republic and block routes of escape for dangerous criminals." There are over 20 such criminals in the republic, according to the Chechen public prosecutor's office. Their names have been published by the local press.

Khasbulatov Reception in Chechnya Described

PM0803161994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 2

[Nikolay Gritchin report: "Khasbulatov Met in Chechnya With Enthusiasm and Wariness"]

[Text] Chechnya has never welcomed anyone with so much extravagance as it welcomed R. Khasbulatov, who was recently regarded as persona non grata in the republic.

Surrounded by bodyguards, the former Lefortovo prisoner is traveling around Groznyy accompanied by a motorcade of foreign cars to be welcomed by machine-gun and assault-rifle salutes from his fellow tribesmen. There was an enthusiastic welcome in his native village, where horse races involving the most daredevil and skillful horsemen were timed specially for his arrival. Reporters from local, Russian, and international news agencies were present in abundance.

Khasbulatov's trip to his homeland with the avowed aim of visiting his elderly mother took on major political significance for the republic the moment his aircraft touched down at Groznyy airport. The guest was met at the ramp not just by his brothers, close relatives, and representatives of the Kharachoy clan, which, incidentally, is one of the many distinguished clans in Chechnya. (A village bearing this name survives to this day in the mountainous area of the republic. One representative of this clan—the bandit avenger Zelimkhan Kharacheyevskiy, who devoted his life to struggling against the czarist forces—was well known in prerevolutionary Russia). Many inhabitants of Chechnya considered it their duty to meet with their distinguished compatriot.

However, the present enthusiasm in the republic is not quite as instinctive as it was two-and-a-half years ago, when Ruslan Imranovich assumed the office of chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. At that time he was the republic's national hero. But his neutrality over attempting to impose order in Chechnya by strong-arm methods came as an unpleasant surprise to his enraptured fellow citizens. So the current rejoicing is mingled with wariness: What plans does this man have in Chechnya? His possible opposition to the present regime in Groznyy and the possibility of his making a bid for power in the republic would, by the admission of a staffer at the Chechen Republic Department for Information and the Press who wished to remain anonymous in the newspaper, constitute an extremely dangerous threat to Dudayev.

This is apparently why official Groznyy is trying to be markedly attentive to its distinguished guest, who has regained the sympathy of thousands of his compatriots during his period of disfavor. President Dudayev took the first steps towards reconciliation with his arch-opponent in good time: He returned to Khasbulatov the Chechen citizenship of which he had been stripped, and immediately before his release from Lefortovo he stated his belief that the Chechen prisoner was innocent. He attempted to display honor befitting this lofty statesman at Groznyy airport as well, where the president's secretary of state and aide greeted the guest. But the exultant crowd pushed aside the senior officials and prevented them from getting close to their idol, whom they mobbed in a fit of enthusiasm.

On the third day of his stay in Chechnya, Khasbulatov visited the memorial built to honor the victims of the deportation of the Chechen people, whom the president's supporters call "Dzhokhar's children," and spoke at a small rally there.

Whatever happens in Chechnya, official Groznyy is currently hoping for something else—that the Chechen celebrity, whose popularity at a time when the republic is in a state of collapse represents a real danger for President Dudayev, will depart as soon as possible for the Russian capital.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Meets Business, Jewish Leaders in New York

LD0703152194 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1200 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk met representatives of the business community and leaders of the Jewish organizations in New York on Sunday. What needs to be done to attract foreign capital to Ukraine? What economic assistance needs to be given to Ukraine at this stage of market reforms? These and many other topical questions on U.S.-Ukrainian economic relations were in the center of attention at the meeting with U.S. business circle representatives. It was attended by representatives of about 20 largest corporations of North America. The meeting was held behind closed doors, the press was not invited.

According to one of the Ukrainian delegation members who took part in the discussion, it concerned promising opportunities for investment in concrete sectors of the Ukrainian economy which are of interest to U.S. corporations. Many questions were put to the Ukrainian delegation about opportunities for capital investments in power engineering, transport, the metal industry and defense enterprises undergoing conversion.

President Kravchuk said in his address that Ukraine had lately passed a number of important legislative acts on privatization and protection of foreign investments. The head of state also stressed that Ukraine is undergoing transition to a market economy in conditions of a deep economic crisis. He urged U.S. entrepreneurs to be bolder in exploring the Ukrainian market and to set up close trade ties.

Also on Sunday, the president of Ukraine held a small meeting with the management of a large U.S. corporation, Morgan. They, too, discussed specific projects for investments in Ukraine.

Leonid Kravchuk spoke on Sunday to the heads of leading Jewish public organizations of the United States. He said, in particular, that a number of laws had been passed in Ukraine lately on human rights and protection of the public's religious freedom.

We have now begun to live according to the rules of the civilized world, the president said.

The head of state noted that over 500,000 Jews are living in the republic today. It is one of the largest ethnic groups in our state," Kravchuk said. Ukrainians, Jews and other ethnic groups are working together for the benefit of our country and increasing its wealth." The president stressed the special importance of the treaty signed in Washington a few days ago between the leadership of the United States and Ukraine, according to which, the governments of both countries commit themselves to joint efforts in assisting the protection and conservation of historical places which are of great significance for the cultural heritage of Ukraine and the United States.

Notes Link Between Arms, Economy

LD0703181994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1808 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York March 7 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said there is a direct connection between Ukraine's nuclear weapons and its economic status. Speaking at a news conference devoted to the results of his visit to the United States in New York City on Monday, Kravchuk said that "when Ukraine gets rid of the last nuclear missile, its economy will be freed from the heavy burden and the republic will be able to step up the process of reform."

"We realise that the West links nuclear weapons with assistance to reform programmes. But I would like to say that the process of freeing oneself from nuclear weapons is not directly connected with the process of reform. When discussing this question, we proceed from the possibility of providing us with security guarantees. If the economic situation continues to worsen, it will be harder for us to carry out the processes which we have pledged to carry out. This is true not only of nuclear weapons, but also of the country's debt," Kravchuk said.

"It should be understood that in conditions of economic chaos it is extremely hard to fulfil one's obligations. Ukraine is not trying to play a 'nuclear card.' We are speaking about absolutely logical facts which should be taken into consideration. The first trainload of nuclear warheads has already arrived in Russia. Ukraine is adherent to the three-party accords signed in Moscow. But it must be helped in carrying out the process of nuclear disarmament, not hampered," the Ukrainian leader said.

Satisfied With U.S. Visit

LD0703184694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1821 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York March 7 TASS—"I am quite satisfied with my visit to the United States during which important bilateral documents were signed," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said.

Speaking at a news conference devoted to the results of his visit to the United States in New york City on Monday, Kravchuk said that "we have discussed a whole spectrum of issues of mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic and other spheres. We held talks with the U.S. leadership as a democratic and independent state. All this has been recorded in respective American-Ukrainian documents, as well as statements made by

President (Bill) Clinton. The next step would be the fulfillment by the Ukrainian side of all its obligations which we have assumed."

"I would not link the success of the meeting with those credits which the United States has promised to grant us. The credits will not be able to provide for full economic recovery of the country anyway. They may help only when the economic mechanism begins working. But now we need U.S. investments and technological assistance badly," Kravchuk said.

To Pay Off Debts

LD0703191194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1853 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York March 7 TASS—"Ukraine will be seeking to pay off all its debts to Russia. But it cannot afford this now because it has no financial means," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said.

Speaking at a news conference devoted to the results of his visit to the United States in New York City on Monday, Kravchuk said that the termination of Russian gas supplies to Ukraine may worsen the economic crisis in the republic and cause a social explosion.

"We did not stop holding talks with the Russian side on this issue. They have been held on a permanent basis. We have really no money to pay in hard currency. The paradox is that we can supply Russia with various manufactured goods for roubles—for example railway carriages or pipes—but Russian enterprises cannot buy them because they themselves have no money. We cannot earn hard currency either, because Ukraine has not so far received a quota for exports to the United States. It's a vicious circle," Kravchuk said.

Minister on Joint Exercises

LD0703175394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1721 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] A Ukrainian government delegation headed by President Leonid Kravchuk on Monday finished its visit to the United States. Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy told reporters that during talks with the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Shalikashvili, it was decided to hold joint military exercises and establish a direct communications line between the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and the U.S. defense Department. It was also agreed that U.S. defense Secretary William Perry would visit Ukraine on March 21-23.

According to Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, the two countries' relations have risen to a "new level." "The American administration has completely revised its policy towards Ukraine," Zlenko said. The United States saw it as essential that "Ukraine should remain an independent and sovereign state," because Ukraine's loss of independence "may upset the balance of power in Europe," he said.

Zlenko said the two nations had considerably stepped up their economic relations. Thus, America had allocated $700 mn as aid to Ukraine, and the latter would also receive assistance from the World Bank and other international financial bodies, he said. A team of U.S. experts is shortly due to arrive in Ukraine to determine priorities in the two countries' economic relations, Zlenko said.

Rally Condemns Clinton, Kravchuk Stances on Crimea

LD0703130694 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2238 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] Sevastopol, 6 Mar—The so-called patriotic forces of Sevastopol have held a rally. In its election statement, the Bloc of Patriotic Forces heavily criticized the U.S. and Ukrainian presidents for "plotting to continue Ukraine's Nazi-style occupation of the Russian peninsula of Crimea." The participants in the rally voiced their unanimous contempt for Clinton and Kravchuk, saying they are doomed to "the pitiful fate of all invaders of Russian territories."

The rally approved an appeal to Yevhen Saburov, the future prime minister of Crimea, demanding "an end to all talk of Crimea being a part of Ukraine." The rally urged "all patriots of Russia" to boycott the election to the Supreme Council of Ukraine and the election to the Supreme Council of Crimea according to party lists. The "patriots of Russia" proposed voting for their own candidates to the Supreme Council of Crimea, whose list was announced at the end of the rally.

Crimean Trade Mission Opens in Moscow

AU0703213394 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 3 Mar 94 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Crimea Has Its Trade Representative in Moscow"]

[Text] [Crimean] President Yu. Meshkov has appointed M. Nikolayev as Crimea's first trade representative in Russia. He is 40, a graduate of Kuybyshev Institute of Culture and of the Californian Business and Marketing College. The government in Moscow has allocated the premises of the former Krasnaya Presnya Rayon Council of People's Deputies for the Crimean Trade Mission in Russia. In a month's time, an exhibition of Crimean goods will be held there.

National Affairs

Meshkov Declares Decree on Crimean Status Illegal

AU0703210894 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 3 Mar 94 p 1

[Report on the "Statement by the Crimean Presidential Press Service"]

[Text] The Crimean Presidential Press Service has published a statement in connection with the Ukraine Supreme Council decree of 24 February 1994 "On the Status of the Crimean Autonomous Republic in Accordance With Ukraine's Current Constitution and Legislation." The statement reads that from the point of view of law, this decree "obviously does not stand up to criticism." The statement emphasizes that the president [Yuriy Meshkov] sees the practice of relations between sovereignties and many other issues worked out in the Russian Federation as the best substantiated and legal. The agreement between Russia and Tatarstan is quoted as an example.

Crimea Parliament Chair Opposes Saburov

AU0803115194 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 4 Mar 94 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Whose Saburov and Whose Sevastopol...."]

[Text] Ye. Saburov, who was offered the post of Crimean vice premier, told our correspondent that the political situation on the peninsula interested him from one point of view only: Whether it will make it possible to develop a free economy in the Crimea. He said that on 4 and 5 March, he would go to Moscow to hold meetings with Russian and foreign structures, whose representatives he would like to invite to the Crimea. Then he will fly to London for the same purpose. He plans to return to the Crimea in three or four weeks and get down to work, provided that the parliament approves his status as vice premier. He does not intend to adopt Ukrainian citizenship. However, Chairman of the Crimean Supreme Council N. Bagrov said that he would not allow Saburov to occupy such a high post.

Meanwhile, a strike committee represented by the bloc of pro-Russian forces and trade union leaders was created in Sevastopol. The strike committee submitted a package of draft resolutions for the forthcoming city council session. The package includes a draft resolution on transferring Sevastopol to Russian jurisdiction.

Crimea Economy Seen As Priority

944K0814A Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by V. Maslennikov: "Economy Taken Hostage By a Shortsighted Policy"]

[Text] Simferopol—And so Crimea has made its choice. At his first press conference, Republic of Crimea President Yu.A. Meshkov named three basic causes of our problems and anxieties today: the collapse of the economy, paralysis of authority, and rampant crime.

Indeed, the "market" we have allegedly built more closely resembles a wild flea market. This is happening because our economy has fallen victim to the shortsighted decisions and actions of woeful politicians who have ruined a unified country and a unified national economic complex built over decades. After all, it is absolutely essential that political concepts coincide with the functioning of objective economic laws. The introduction of Ukraine's own currency—the karbovanets—has resulted in nothing but chaos for the financial system and has sharply undermined the standard of living of the populace, putting many of us on the edge of extinction. Only the various kinds of profiteers and bureaucrats can feel free under the new conditions as they line their pockets with the distribution of all the people's assets.

Task number one for the first president of Crimea is to put a tight lid on profiteering and so-called "grab-it-ization."

The new Government of the Republic of Crimea must draw conclusions from the negative experience of "the Bagrov team" and further to the greatest possible extent restoration of the economic ties with Russia and other CIS countries which were destroyed. And in order to diminish at least in some way the grave consequences of the current collapse of ties, we must utilize local conditions and resources more fully. We might consider as an example in this regard the reforms of the Vrangel government, and indeed—NEP.

A proper resolution to issues in the development of agriculture and sectors of the processing industry would not only help resolve the food problem which is so painful for us, but would also enable us to accumulate funds to treat social needs. But it is my deep conviction that our most important source of wealth—the land—cannot constitute the object of buying and selling. It must belong to those who will cultivate it conscientiously.

It is also necessary at the state level to examine questions pertaining to increased housing construction (last year only 8,600 apartments were built in Crimea) and assistance to Crimean resort areas. Of course, these tasks will not be accomplished while proceeding along the path of Kiev's current isolationist policy. We need decisive steps to be taken towards economic sovereignty, especially in the conduct of Crimea's financial (budgetary and tax) policy.

We must reform our tax system, especially since Crimea will henceforth be conducting a tax policy independent of that of Ukraine. Taxes must be levied for the budget based on one indicator of production or production realization. This will lead to improved accounting and control, and will downsize financial organs. In such event, it would be advantageous to unite the finance and tax departments of Crimea into one institution.

In order to overcome the current paralysis of power and the rampant crime related to it, we must elect to the Supreme Council of Crimea and to local organs of authority as many honest and decent people as possible, true professionals who have not sullied themselves either in shady dealings in the sphere of "grab-it-ization" or

links with our state-trade mafia, in other words—with that very environment that engenders crime on the state scale.

Air Force Leaders Resign Over Appointment

PM0403105194 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Mar 94 p 3

[Anatoliy Polyakov report under the "Postscriptum: Events and Commentaries" rubric: "Was There a Generals' 'Conspiracy'? Six Members of Ukrainian Air Force Military Council Have Come Out Against the President's Edict"]

[Text] Kiev—Something unprecedented has occurred in the Ukrainian Army. President Leonid Kravchuk issued an edict appointing Lieutenant General Volodymyr Antonets commander of the Air Force. As soon as this became known, all six members of the Air Force Military Council (with the exception, naturally, of Antonets himself) signed the Military Council's decision on their collective resignation.

What, then, is the essence of the generals' "conspiracy"? In the past, at the instigation of former Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov, Gen. Antonets was appointed by the president as commander of the Air Defense Troops, whose creation by means of merging Air Defense and the Air Force he himself had initiated. This led not only to the formation of a new staff structure with 250 generals and colonels but also to... the further breakdown of the Air Defense and the Air Force.

This was precisely why Leonid Kravchuk was forced to repeal his edict creating the Air Defense Troops. Antonets became commander of the Air Force.

But why are the generals categorically opposed to Volodymyr Antonets? There are several reasons. One of them is that it was with the support of Antonets that a right-wing organization, which is essentially a political party—the Ukrainian Officers Union—was active in the Air Force. With his assistance members of the UNSO [Ukrainian People's Self-Defense] organization wounded in Georgia were treated in military hospitals. Generals V. Vasilyev and G. Kolodiy, who fought in Afghanistan and have rich experience in troop control, have declared their reluctance, so the newspaper KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI writes, to serve under the command of someone who does not have the necessary knowledge to lead the Air Force and whose main character trait is arrogance.

Security Officer Expelled From Poland

LD0703180594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1721 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] The Ukrainian security officer Major Anatoliy Lysenko, sentenced by a court in Poland to two years in prison on Saturday for espionage against that country and for recruiting Polish citizens, has been expelled from Poland and has returned to Ukraine. That was reported to Interfax by the Ukrainian border troops press-service on Monday.

At a news-conference on the border between the two countries, journalists have been told that Kiev disagrees with the verdict and will instruct its Embassy in Poland to appeal the court's decision. Border officers described the case with Lysenko as a crude provocation. Major Lysenko was detained in Poland at the end of August last year. In his words, his trip was private.

People's Deputies Protest Arrest of UNA Members

AU0703213494 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 3 Mar 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Political Opponent? Put Him Behind Bars!"]

[Text] A group of people's deputies has turned to Ukraine's Procurator General V. Datsyuk with a protest in connection with the recent search of the headquarters of the Ukrainian Nationalist Assembly (UNA) and private apartments of individual UNA members. The search was sanctioned by Hariy Shevchenko, Procurator of Pechersk Rayon [in Kiev]. As already reported in the press, at that time, about 30 UNA members were detained, including four candidates for people's deputies. The authors of the protest are trying to find out from the Procurator General what social danger these people present so as to enable the Procurator's Office to violate the status of immunity of candidates for Ukraine's people's deputies. Perhaps our legislators want, in this manner, to show their activity instead of intensifying the struggle against corruption and organized crime?

The group of people's deputies, including Kateryna Zavadska, Iryna Kalynets, Mykhaylo Kosiv, Stepan Khmara, Ihor Yukhnovskyy, Ivan Makar, and Mykhaylo Batih, all together 21 people, regards this action as a trial of strength in unleashing a campaign of political repression on the Ukrainian people and political organizations that stand up for the right to a decent life in the Ukrainian state. The people's deputies concluded their protest against the attempt to use law enforcement agencies to deal with political opponents with a demand that those arrested be released without delay.

Belarus

Presidency Viewed; Legislative Deputies Comment

WS0703151194 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 5 Mar 94 p 2

[Report by Igor Gukovskiy: "A Suit for President Is Ready, But Whom Will It Fit Best?"]

[Text] The issue of presidency in Belarus that was heatedly debated for a long time seems to have been resolved now. The Constitution's provisions on the parliament and presidency was passed by 266 legislative votes, exceeding the required 233 votes, which is two-thirds of the Supreme Soviet. As members of the Counting Commission reported at the press conference, election of the first Belarusian president should be expected not later than 26 June this year.

Curiously, several days before the voting, the Belarusian Popular Movement [BND] leadership, which has repeatedly said that it could block any issue, came out against the presidency. Why did they vote for it then? Observers say that there could be three reasons for this. First, the NDB altered its position in the last minute. Second, it has been concealing its true position until now. Third, the movement's members have failed to obey decisions made by its leadership. Incidentally, a leader of an organization that is part of the NDB denounced the voting by NDB members, especially its communist faction, as insubordination to the leadership, and suggested applying party disciplinary measures.

Immediately after the vote, our correspondent met with three people's deputies and asked them to answer several questions connected with the introduction of a new power institution in the Republic.

[RESPUBLIKA] Can one be absolutely positive that Belarus will have its president?

[Dmitriy Bulakhov] We have passed the most difficult stage in introducing the presidency in the Republic. This does not mean, however, that it is a foregone conclusion. Ahead lies the adoption of the constitution as a whole, and debates over transition provisions on its activation, which are very complex issues.

[RESPUBLIKA] Are you for the presidency?

[Bulakhov] Absolutely.

[RESPUBLIKA] How would you explain your position?

[Bulakhov] Weakness of the power results in the power of violence—uncontrolled and executed not according to laws and the Constitution, but according to muscle. This means a language of ultimatum and pressure on any procedure. So, it is better to have stronger power. This can only be possible when two conditions are met: legitimacy supported by a popular vote in general elections, and the lawfulness stemming from laws and the Constitution.

As a matter of fact, the presidency is not a new thing for us. Except for the past three years, it has always been present in Belarus. We had our presidents in the face of first secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, only we did not talk about this. For all its notoriety, the one-party system was manageable even during the most crucial and difficult stages of economic and political development.

What we have today is a general lack of responsibility, or, to put it another way, a mess—and not the pinnacle of democracy as some make it out to be. Democracy is not ochlocracy. Democracy is when everyone abides by the law, and everyone understands that their rights and freedom are limited by the rights and freedoms of others. At the same time, an individual should have priority over any national and supranational rights and freedoms of a group of individuals.

[RESPUBLIKA] Will you run for the presidency?

[Bulakhov] I am too young now. And, as a matter of fact, it's not my business. No, I will not run.

[RESPUBLIKA] How realistic is the outcome that a new president will be elected by the parliament, as an exception, and not by all the people?

[Valeriy Tikhinya] This outcome should not be ruled out. However, the candidate who will seek this post and the forces that he represents will hardly accept it—because it is so obvious that it is going to be a puppet president without strong power. As his legal status will be diminished, he will have to look to the Supreme Soviet all the time, which gave him its support. In my opinion, it is not the best way to elect the first Belarusian president, and I hope it will be rejected.

[RESPUBLIKA] Will you propose yourself as a candidate for president and, if so, as a candidate of what party?

[Aleksandr Lukashenko] If I will, I will be a candidate of the left center. Basically, all the candidates are already known: Lukashenko, Kebich, and perhaps Hryb and Tikhinya—left of the center; Shushkevich, Karpenko, Paznyak—right of the center. Other candidates also may appear. But I do not think it's very likely—political figures do not come out of the blue. For me, the arrangement of forces is already clear.

Deputy Opposes Ratification of Gas Pact With Russia

WS0703154394 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 4 Mar 94 pp 1, 3

[Report by Ihar Sinyakevich: "Belarusian Pipelines Could Be Sold to Russia for the Price of One House?"]

[Text] The Belarusian Government forwarded an agreement on joining the Russian Joint Stock Association "GAZPROM" by the Belarusian state enterprise for gas delivery "BELTRANSHAZ" for ratification by the Belarusian Supreme Soviet. According to the agreement

that was signed by Belarusian and Russian prime ministers on 8 September 1993, along with the agreement on the unification of their monetary systems, Belarus receives valuables of the "BELTRANSHAZ," the entire property of which is handed over to the statute capital of the Russian Joint Stock Association "GAZPROM." The cost of the "BELTRANSHAZ" property was assessed at 1.2 billion rubles [R] as of 1 January 1993. Land belonging to the Belarusian gas industry is being leased to Russian "GAZPROM" for 99 years. The agreement also states: "The Republic of Belarus guarantees that the property—which is being handed over to Russia on the basis of the agreement—and "GAZPROM" investments on the territory of Belarus will not undergo confiscation, nationalization, or requisition. The Republic of Belarus guarantees free transit of Russian natural gas for export."

On the other hand, Russia promises to support "GAZPROM" by increasing its yearly gas deliveries to Belarusian consumers up to 21 billion cubic meters in 1995, 26 billion cubic meters in 2000, and 33 billion cubic meters in 2010.

The government's note ratifying this agreement enumerates the following advantages, which certify the necessity for its ratification: Belarus will be guaranteed gas deliveries in the amounts required for the national economy; the issues of supplying the Belarusian gas industry with spares, pipes, insulation and operational materials will be resolved; in connection with the increased transit of gas deliveries through the Belarusian territory, the state budget of Belarus will receive more assets; Belarus will enjoy dividends from the activities of "GAZPROM"; the Belarusian construction branch will receive orders for $300 million.

However, not all were satisfied with the arguments of the government. The Supreme Soviet commission for economic reform opposed the ratification of this document and demanded additional information on the conditions of this deal. This is what People's Deputy Leanid Kozik, chairman of the commission, said: "I oppose the ratification of this agreement. This is my and our commission's opinion. We do not see anything beneficial from this agreement: Neither what the costs of the main "BELTRANSHAZ" funds are, nor how many securities the Belarusian party will receive. According to the figures cited in the press, I calculated that Belarus will have 0.5 percent. The cost of Belarusian gas pipelines and pumping stations were assessed at R1.2 billion. I calculated that the cost of the metal for these pipelines alone is much higher. I wrote a resolution that as long as we have no exact figures, and as long as I do not see what this means for the Republic, I am not going to initial this document."

Could you propose any alternative to cooperation between the "BELTRANSHAZ" and the "GAZPROM?-"

"In principle, I am not against the setting up of a joint stock company. However, the documents should be properly formulated, so that one party would not take everything away from the other. Because after joining the joint stock company, we will have only securities while the property will belong to the other party. According to the Russian and Belarusian laws on joint stock companies, in case of withdrawing from a joint stock company, we cannot claim back our property, it will be possible to sell only the securities. I do not oppose the joint stock companies, but it is necessary to properly assess the property and the expenses of the Republic, because later, Russia will continue exporting its gas to the West, however, free of charge.

Poland chose to set up a joint stock company with the "GAZPROM...."

"There could be other variants if the property belongs to us. The main aim is that Belarus does not lose."

What do you think? Will the legislature ratify this agreement?

"I will categorically oppose it. I do not think that deputies will believe this note without seeing the figures, and will distribute our property without any reasons for doing this."

Other deputies also spoke about their negative attitude toward this agreement. The issue is not only that of the low costs of the "BELTRANSHAZ." According to some assessments, if we sell the state property based on its balance costs, then one U.S. billionaire could buy all the property of the Republic of Belarus. It is not worth selling such strategic objects as pipelines at their real, market price because the Republic will lose not only its property forever, but its opportunity to affect Russia through the market. It is a very dangerous step if we take into consideration that Belarus depends on Russia in many aspects.

Government, Trade Unions Reach Agreement on Minimum Wage

WS0703151894 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] As BELAPAN has learned, the government, the Federation of Belarusian Trade Unions [FPB], and the Union of Employers have signed the general agreement for 1994. A draft of this document has recently been examined by the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers Economics Department. The main disagreement between the government and trade unions regarding this draft, concerned the proportions between the minimum wage and the minimum consumer basket. Nevertheless, as Viktar Talstakoraw, chief of the FPB Department of Organization and Remuneration of Labor, told BELAPAN, the following compromise was reached on this issue: The proportions between the minimum wage and the minimum consumer budget should be reexamined according to the results of the first six months of 1994.

The three sides also agreed that it is necessary to constantly control the implementation of the general agreement. Control was entrusted to the Belarusian Arbitrary Council for Labor and Social Issues that includes representatives of the government, the FPB, and the Employers Union. The council is to hold its meetings every three months. As Viktar Talstakoraw pointed out, this year's general agreement distinguishes itself as "more specific and directed."

Military Cooperation With Ukraine To Be Expanded

WS0703151294 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 4 Mar 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Barter and Dollar Will Become the Foundation for Mutual Settlements Between Belarusian and Ukrainian Armies"]

[Text] The Belarusian military delegation, led by Belarusian Defense Minister Colonel General Kozlovskiy, returned from Ukraine where it held negotiations with Ukrainian Defense Minister Radetskyy.

During the visit, it discussed prospects for cooperation between the two Armies in the materiel and technical sphere, logistic support, and training of military specialists.

The economic crisis in our republics sharply curtailed the ability of their Armies to purchase new equipment and weapons. It is the times and situation that call for the states to cooperate on a par basis. The barter system and the dollar will become the foundation for mutual settlements between Belarusian and Ukrainian Armies.

The sides reached an agreement that Ukraine will commit itself to training engineering personnel for the Belarusian Army, in particular, electronics specialists. For its part, Belarus is ready to offer its military college facilities for the training of Ukrainian lieutenants. Also, military equipment surplus will be exchanged or sold to each other.

The sides agreed to continue working meetings and consultations.

900 Military Units Undergo Reform

WS0703151494 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1200 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Belarusian Army Is Being Reformed"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Mikalay Churkin, first deputy Belarusian defense minister, stated at a session of the Defense Ministry Collegium that in 1992-93, more than 900 units of the Belarusian Armed Forces underwent a reform in which numerical strength corresponded to the quantitative parameters foreseen by international agreements for Belarus.

Moldova

Over 90 Percent Vote for 'Territorial Integrity' in Poll

AU0703164294 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1512 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 7 Mar—The preliminary results of the poll "What People Advise" show that over two-thirds of people included in the lists have attended the polling stations. Over 90 percent of the participants pronounced for Moldova's territorial integrity, stated today to the National Radio Mihai Coscodan, chairman of the Republic Commission for running the poll, Moldovan vice premier. Coscodan said the poll will be a heavy blow for separatists in Tiraspol and Comrat. Previously, Ovidiu Badina, director of Sociological Service for Researching the Public Opinion and Market (SCOP), told BASAPRESS that the scientific value of this poll is null since the two rules essential for any poll are not respected—the question is not formulated exactly; it consists of several components and it is not clear to which of the answers "Yes" and "No" refer.

FPDCM Leader Assesses Parliamentary Election Results

AU0803110794 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Iurie Rosca, leader of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova, by Corina Caramete on 28 February; place not given: "A Gloomy Future for Bessarabia"]

[Text] [Caramete] After partial results have been announced, what do you think the future composition of the Republic of Moldova's Parliament will be?

[Rosca] I believe that the Communist Block [The Democratic Agrarian Party, the Socialist Party and the Edinstvo, and the Social Democratic Party] has ensured itself two-thirds of the votes. We can say that the Alliance of the Democratic Christian Popular Front [AFPCD] did not succeed in winning elections in competition with Russia. We had to compete with Russia. The balance of forces was somehow unequal.

[Caramete] The AFPCD nevertheless will have 10 parliamentarians.

[Rosca] Something like that.

[Caramete] Logically, Ilie Ilascu's release should follow now, he was the second candidate on the AFPCD lists.

[Rosca] This would be normal. However, it is certain that the struggle for his liberation will intensify, providing that he succeeds in ending his current hunger strike and stays healthy.

[Caramete] According to the law he should be released.

[Rosca] Certainly. When we enter parliament, the first issue that we will table will be the release of Ilies Ilascu and his group and the majority will not risk spoiling its image by failing to support such an initiative.

[Caramete] It is possible that the parliamentary majority will support this idea in word only.

[Rosca] Yes, it is possible, as has happened in the past two years. However, when we are in parliament we will be able to see whether something is indeed being done or whether everything stops at certain futile declarations that can cover up the complicity between the authorities of Chisinau and Tiraspol.

[Caramete] Are you going to dispute the elections?

[Rosca] We advanced several appeals disputing the results during the electoral campaign and now, too, one day after the elections. We will set down all cases of violation of the electoral law, but these appeals certainly can have only a propagandistic character. I do not think that they will have any legal consequences for the current leadership, especially considering—as far as I could notice—that the international observers who were here almost unanimously recognize the correctness of elections. I even heard somebody who represented the Council of Europe saying on Chisinau radio that the elections took place without violence. As if violations were carried out with tanks. Thus, I do not believe that we will obtain more than to succeed in drawing the public's attention at home and abroad to the fact that these elections were not democratic. Everything that is state authority, from the very top down to the mayor's office, had been put at the service of the Agrarian Democratic Party.

[Caramete] How do you think the political situation is going to develop in the future?

[Rosca] The prospects are pretty gloomy. The program of the Communist Block is known: federalization and immediate adherence to the CIS. Thus, for the first time the 1940 occupation will be legalized definitively. Then, the law regarding the official language will be reviewed and possibly the 14th Army will be transformed from an occupying army into a long-term Russian military base to ensure peace and stability in the area. I believe that unfortunately the West will hail such an idea. Probably the aggression of official anti-Romanian propaganda will increase and new attempts to condemn the idea of unification [with Romania] will follow. However, what the imperialists always overlook are the fundamental human feelings: a religious, and then a national feeling. In no way can these be defeated by totalitarianism or a parliamentary majority. I was talking with my colleagues the night of the elections about what is going to be the first initiative of our parliamentary group. We will turn to the parliamentary majority with the request to let us keep our alphabet. Thus, this would be the last stronghold. We might feel pretty bad if, in a probable multinational state, it were finally recognized that we are a Moldovan people and that we speak the Moldovan language [in contrast to Romanian]. Just as dramatic will be the discontinuation of relations with Romania in the area of education and educational programs.

[Caramete] Have you thought about opposing the anti-Romanian offensive?

[Rosca] Ilie Ilascu's book was issued in 250,000 copies. We have paved Bessarabia with this book and this is the most useful and most concise history of the Romanians and the most touching assertion of the national identity in the present Republic of Moldova. We are also preparing a long-term plan for our activity and I believe that everything will turn out fine, because communists do not understand this, namely that anything that is against God will collapse, sometimes very rapidly and spectacularly.

Kazakhstan

Almaty Correspondent Updates Progress of Elections

LD0703152494 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1337 GMT 7 Mar 94

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Announcer Yelena Berezovskaya] As we have already reported, elections are being held in Kazakhstan today for the Republic's Supreme Soviet and local councils. Viktor Glukhovtsev, our Almaty correspondent, is now on the line to the Mayak studio. Over to you, Viktor Ivanovich:

[Glukhovtsev] Hello.

[Berezovskaya] We can hear you.

[Glukhovtsev] First and foremost, Yelena, let me greet you and all of our courageous women on the holiday; but here is what I have to tell you about the election. This is the first time in its history that Kazakhstan has held democratic elections in which every citizen has had the right to stand for the country's parliament. Many have made full use of this right. Public associations, for instance, registered 330 candidates for the Supreme Soviet election, but there are actually 30 more nominees than that. Those are the fruits of democracy for you.

Here's another point that needs to be noted. This is also the first time that foreign observers are monitoring the poll. Twenty-four states in Europe, the United States, and Asia have sent representatives to Kazakhstan, and they are scrupulously recording the slightest infraction of the election rules. There have not been many of these infractions, but there have been some, unfortunately.

The election code stipulates that premises where ballot papers are kept should be sealed and guarded by the militia. Checks have shown, however, that this rule has not been followed in some places. In some cases, packets of ballot papers were found to have been opened, the seals broken. The same code stipulates that each voter should vote in person and should turn up with the document proving his right to vote, but this stipulation has been ignored rather often in the scramble to ensure that the official turnout is as big as possible. Such violations of the electoral code are no credit to members of constituency and polling station commissions. They cast doubt on the legality of the final results.

Let me tell you a bit about the actual voting. According to preliminary figures, over 9.5 million people were eligible to vote. Voting began at 0700 this morning. By 1100 the figures were as follows. Some 1,275,000 people had turned up at polling stations to vote. This is 14 percent of the total. This is, of course, not much compared with previous years. In the republican capital, for example, only 11 percent had voted by then. In Turgay, West Kazakhstan, and Aktyubinsk oblasts it was even less.

[Berezovskaya] Viktor Ivanovich...

[Glukhovtsev, interrupting] Yes, yes.

[Berezovskaya] The latest figures may even have reached Moscow sooner than they reached you. At the moment—or rather about two hours ago—a third of the voters had already turned out in the Republic as a whole, it is reported.

[Glukhovtsev] Well, the Central Electoral Commission told me that in the Republic as a whole 58 percent of eligible voters had already cast their votes by 1600. So I have fresher information, so to speak. Those are the figures.

Well, that's all I have to tell you at the moment. This is Viktor Glukhovtsev with a special report for the Mayak "Panorama."

Elections Pronounced Valid

LD0703205694 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] The elections in Kazakhstan have been pronounced valid, Central Electoral Commission Chairman (Karataytultsev) announced at a news conference. He said that by 1500, 58 percent of the electorate had cast their votes. Inhabitants of North Kazakhstan, Taldy-Kurgan, and South Kazakhstan oblasts were the most active with over 70 percent of votes cast.

Tajikistan

Tajik-Afghan Border Situation 'Explosive'

LD0403121294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Text] Colonel General Boris Pyankov, commander of CIS peace-keeping forces in Tajikistan, told INTERFAX in an exclusive interview Friday that the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border remained explosive.

In his words, the winter was fairly calm in Tajikistan. There was no starvation, factories reopened, prices began to decrease gradually. Serious anti-terrorist steps were taken. On the other hand, the commander thought, the struggle for power was becoming increasingly bitter on every level.

Pyankov predicted that as mountain passes opened in the spring, opposition fighters and gangsters based in Afghanistan and Tajikistan would step up their activities.

He said that tactical exercises of CIS forces were staged for after 20 March.

Rakhmanov Seeks UN Status for CIS Troops

LD0603164194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1517 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] The chairman of Tajikistan's parliament, Emomali Rakhmanov, has requested the U.N. Security Council to consider the possibility of granting the collective CIS peace-keeping forces formed last autumn and still deployed in Tajikistan the status of U.N. peace-keeping forces.

In his messages sent on Saturday to the chairman of the U.N. Security Council, Jean-Bernard Merimee, and to the U.N. Secretary-General, Butrus-Butrus Ghali, Rakhmanov expressed concern over the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, where "armed units of the Tajik opposition backed by some groups of Afghan mujaheddin continue to stage acts of terrorism and sabotage."

The Government of Tajikistan "intends to firmly follow its program for settling the conflict between different political forces in Tajikistan peacefully and resolving the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border by political means," Rakhmanov assured members of the U.N. Security Council.

In this connection the Tajik leadership intends to enter into talks with spokesmen for the opposition in Moscow this month, the messages said.

Opposition Agrees to Direct Talks With Government

LD0603215994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2137 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran, 7 Mar TASS—At Sunday's meeting with Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin, Tajik Moslem and nationalist opposition leaders agreed to open direct talks with the Tajik Government with the participation of mediators. The opposition delegation to the talks is expected to respond to Russia's offer to hold the first round of talks in Moscow, Adamishin told TASS. He reported that his visit to Iran aimed to negotiate a political settlement of the Tajik conflict.

Tajikistan has been in turmoil since independence after the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991.

Adamishin, whose government has thousands of troops in Tajikistan guarding its southern border with Afghanistan against Moslem rebels based here, told Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati that Moscow was not seeking a military solution.

He stressed Tajik opposition had come to understanding there was no alternative to a political solution of the problem. According to the Russian diplomat, the main thing now is to open talks. To get this process moving, Russia suggested that the confronting sides enter dialogue on March 16 and pledged safety for both parties to the talks.

According to Adamishin, the programmes of settlement set forth by the sides differ considerably, but the negotiating process is designed to draw them closer.

The deputy foreign minister stressed that nobody but Tajiks themselves could settle their problems. For this reason, Russia thinks participation of any third countries in the talks to be unnecessary. U.N. mediation will be quite enough.

Russian Border Guards Under Fire From Afghan Territory

LD0703122394 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] Russia's 11th border unit of the Pyandzh detachment in Tajikistan came under machinegun fire from Afghan territory on the evening of 6 March, INTERFAX learned at the headquarters of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan. There were no casualties among the border troops, and they did not return fire.

Foreign Minister Praises CSCE Efforts Toward Stabilization

LD0403172494 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Text] Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov sent a letter to Beniamino Andreatta, chairman of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This is a reply by the foreign minister to a letter from the chairman of this international organization. The foreign minister expresses satisfaction with the fact that cooperation between the Republic and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe during the two years of Tajikistan's membership to this international organization has been fruitful.

The letter highly assesses the attention paid by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to the integration of Tajikistan into the world community, as well as the efforts made by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to further stabilize the social and political situation in Tajikistan.

The adherence of Tajikistan to the creation of a law-governed and democratic state is pointed out once again in the letter.

UN Mission Urges Dialogue With Opposition

LD0403194394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1847 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Dushanbe, 4 Mar TASS—Head of the U.N. mission of observers in Tajikistan, Liviu Bota, positively estimated the aspiration of official Dushanbe towards a political dialogue with the opposition and spoke for acceleration of this process. The high-ranking representative of the United Nations believes that the negotiating process is a concrete step towards peace, national reconciliation and stability in the Republic.

Liviu bota stated this today in an interview with ITAR-TASS commenting on the latest initiatives of the Tajik authorities in establishing contacts with representatives of oppositional circles of different political orientation. In this connection the head of the U.N. mission of observers noted that this international organization was prepared to render feasible aid in arranging these negotiations.

Ramiro Peres Ballon, U.N. secretary-general's special envoy currently staying in Tajikistan, agreed to participate in this process. In reply to a question by ITAR-TASS correspondent if the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border under conditions of continuous armed provocations there, may affect the negotiating process, the U.N. representative said that, in his opinion, clashes on the border are not of a mass character and was skeptical about the possibility of large-scale operations there. However, he stressed that at the moment of the talks all combat actions and other negative incidents on the frontier should be ceased.

Assessing the present social and political situation in Tajikistan, Liviu Bota noted that over the last year on the whole it certainly has changed for the better, become much quieter, although not everywhere, he admitted.

Specifying his thought, Liviu Bota explained that there were separate facts of violations of human rights in Tajikistan, as well as infringement of security guarantees for Tajik refugees returning from Afghanistan.

According to the head of the U.N. mission, this is not the policy of the government. In the conditions of Tajikistan, he noted, when as a result of the recent civil war many people lost their relatives, a factor of revenge is acting. This should not be disregarded, Liviu bota explained, although the United Nations categorically condemns each such fact and informs the Tajik leadership about them.

At the same time the U.N. official said that he would like to emphasise that the government naturally is responsible for everything which is going on in its republic including such a sphere as the observance of human rights. It is very important the U.N. mission of observers meets with understanding in this issue on the part of the Tajik leadership, Liviu Bota stated.

Foreign Minister Welcomes Russian Peacemaking Efforts

LD0503181294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1620 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Text] The Tajik authorities are prepared to conduct dialogue with forces of any political orientation, "without preliminary conditions and with any negotiators." The main thing is that this help the establishment of a civil peace and stability in the Republic, INTERFAX was told Saturday by Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov.

He believes that this year is very important for the republic. Tajik people are actively discussing the draft of a new Constitution and possible forms of the state structure.

Late in summer or early in autumn parliamentary elections are to be held in Tajikistan. "We would like that everyone who considers himself a citizen of Tajikistan, despite the nationality, confession, political and philosophical views, take part in these vitally important processes.

He said that people of Tajikistan attach an exceptional importance to the role to be played by Russia in the undoing Tajikistan's knot. Russia's contribution is valuable both for the political settlement and in the sphere of the economic assistance, said Olimov.

He said the Republic's Foreign Ministry is maintaining close contacts with the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Speaking about the visit by the first deputy of the Russian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin to Iran where he intends to meet leaders of the Tajik opposition, Olimov said that the authorities and people of Tajikistan welcome the efforts by the Russian diplomat in establishing a civil peace in the Republic. It seems Adamishin is to see for himself the goodwill by representatives of the Tajik opposition. We wish every success to his mission, said Olimov.

He also assessed positively the role by the special envoy of the UN Secretary General on Tajikistan, Ramirez Piriz-Bollon.

Samadov Talks With UN Officials

LD0703222794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2117 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations, 8 Mar— On Monday UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali had a meeting with Abdujalil Samadov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan.

During the talks the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border was discussed, as well as a number of problems of political settlement in Tajikistan in the light of setting in motion the mechanism of inter-Tajik talks under UN

auspices and with the active participation of Russia. R. Piriz Ballon, special envoy of the UN secretary general in Tajikistan, and L.K. Kayumov, permanent representative of the Republic of Tajikistan in the United Nations, were present at the meeting.

Alimov Says Dushanbe Ready for Talks With Any Forces

LD0503183794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1456 GMT 5 Mar 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The Tajik authorities are prepared to conduct dialogue with forces of any political orientation, "without preliminary conditions and with any negotiators." The main thing is that this help the establishment of a civil peace and stability in the Republic, INTERFAX was told Saturday by Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Alimov.

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He also assessed positively the role by the special envoy of the UN Secretary General on Tajikistan, Ramirez Piriz-Bollon.

Officials Deny Rumors of Clan, Ethnic Conflicts

LD0403205894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1954 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Dushanbe, 4 Mar TASS—Major-General Anatoliy Kuptsov, first deputy security minister of Tajikistan, called "unfounded and not being in accord with reality" the latest rumors about allegedly a complex social and political situation in the former Kurgan-Tyube region and mass conflicts on clan and inter-ethnic grounds, which led to numerous victims.

The situation in Kurgan-Tyube and the neighboring districts remains calm and there are no trends for its deterioration, the major-general told ITAR-TASS today stressing that certain forces stop at nothing, including spreading various rumors, in an attempt to destabilize the situation.

According to Anatoliy Kuptsov, several tragic incidents really occurred in these inhabited localities in the second half of February this year. For instance, unidentified persons provoked shooting on the territory of the Sangak Safarov collective farm in the Bokhtar district. As a result, one of the officers of a military unit of the Tajikistan Defense Ministry stationed in Kurgan-Tyube, and three civilians were killed.

Unidentified bandits also killed a resident of the Bokhtar district who worked in a local branch of the international non-governmental organization "Physicians Beyond Borders".

Three people in a car driving from the frontier center of Pyandzh to Dushanbe came under fire and were killed. Competent bodies are carefully investigating each criminal case, the first deputy minister noted.

But already now it is possible to say that all three incidents are not of a clan or an inter-ethnic nature. They are purely criminal cases.

It is no secret, the general said, that the general crime situation in the Republic is very tense, including the former Kurgan-Tyube region. There are several reasons for the outburst of criminal actions, one of them being the consequences of the recent civil war, violations of legal laws, as well as the availability of large quantities of firearms, which the local inhabitants still possess despite measures taken by the "power" structures of the Republic.

Turkmenistan

Gas Supplies to Georgia Increased

LD0703115194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1119 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] Turkmenistan has increased its daily gas supplies to Georgia from 8 Mn to 9.5 Mn cubic meters, the Gruzgaz Department told INTERFAX.

This is due to the recently reached agreement between the two countries' leaders. Turkmenistan has also agreed to a deferment in the payment of the Georgian $150 Mn debt.

Meanwhile, the production of electricity by the Georgian hydro-power plants has almost doubled due to a rise in the river levels. Georgia generates 16 Mn kilowatt hours of electricity daily. Another 2 Mn kilowatt hours arrive daily from Azerbaijan.

The Georgian hydro-power plants are expected to start working at full load in the second half of March, which will put most of the local enterprises back into operation.

Issue of New Passports Begins

PM0803104594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 94 First Edition p 6

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA/LOGOTIP-KP roundup column report under the general heading "In Brief"]

[Text] Turkmenistan—Universal issue of passports will begin in the Republic this year. The first new passports were issued to government members on the eve of the Turkmenbashi's birthday. The passport for a citizen of Turkmenistan, like the state flag, is green, and the cover portrays the country's coat of arms. It is much larger than the old Soviet passport, containing 32 pages. All entries are made in three languages—Turkmen (in the Latin alphabet), Russian, and English. With the introduction of the new passport, the need to issue foreign travel passports lapses.

Armenia

Karabakh Forces Block Azerbaijani Attack

NC0703165594 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Excerpt] A report we received not so long ago said that Azerbaijan's military forces pounded the Armenian defense positions in Karabakh and the military unit in Fizuli with artillery fire at about 0730 this morning. Later they tried to penetrate the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic's defense lines. However, thanks to the successful efforts of the Karabakh artillery units, the offensive was halted. The Azerbaijani units were forced to retreat after suffering several casualties. The reports we received as of noon today say that positional fighting is continuing at that part of the front line.

The situation is tense on other parts of the line of confrontation, but relative peace prevails.

Meanwhile, the provocations from Azerbaijani territory against Armenia seem to be unending. The defense positions around Berkaber in Idzhevanskiy Rayon were fired on at 1900 yesterday. The Armenian border guards refrained from returning fire. No one was hurt.

The situation along the rest of the Armenian-Azerbaijani border has been relatively peaceful. Meanwhile, the neighboring republic must realize that it is impossible to involve Armenia in the conflict through provocative activities. Armenia maintains a peaceful policy.

President, Others Receive CSCE Delegation

NC0703221094 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] The Armenian presidential press service reported that on 7 March Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan received Jan Eliasson, chairman of the CSCE Minsk Group, and members of his delegation who are visiting the region to obtain first-hand information on the situation.

The entire complex of matters pertaining to the Karabakh conflict, including the peace proposals of CSCE and Russia, were discussed during the meeting. Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan; Armenian First Deputy Foreign Minister Zhirair Liparityan; and Davit Shahnazaryan, the Armenian president's ambassador on special missions, were present at the meeting.

Babken Ararktsyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Council, also received Jan Eliasson and his delegation today. The chairman of the Supreme Council stressed the importance of the mission for the [words indistinct] establishment of a cease-fire and political settlement of the conflict.

In summarizing the results of the CSCE representatives' meetings with the party and deputies' groups at the Armenian Supreme Council, Ararktsyan affirmed that all political forces in the parliament, first of all the Armenian Pannational Movement that commands a relative majority, are in favor of the speedy establishment of a cease-fire and a negotiated settlement of the contentious issues.

Babken Ararktsyan also noted that it is possible to expect maximum results from the peace efforts only if all mediation efforts are coordinated within international organizations, particularly within the CSCE framework. Of course, this does not preclude the discussion of various other proposals.

In his turn, Jan Eliasson noted that the visit to Baku, Stepanakert, and Yerevan has convinced him about the existence of a real possibility for the establishment of a stable and supervisable cease-fire.

Readiness was expressed to consistently continue holding consultations and regular contacts at various levels to search for effective mechanisms for the termination of military operations.

During the meeting, Babken Ararktsyan also briefed the guests on the work being carried out on economic and political reforms in the republic, and on the future plans.

CSCE Minsk Group Chairman Jan Eliasson held a news conference this evening at the Armenian Foreign Ministry. Our correspondent Grigor Guezelyan reports:

[Begin Guezelyan recording] CSCE Minsk Chairman Jan Eliasson said that their talks and meetings in Baku, Stepanakert, and Yerevan were [words indistinct]. He added that following the intensive talks, the delegation, which also includes the Swedish diplomats Mathias Mossberg and [name indistinct], met with the political leadership of the sides, as well as with civilians and refugees. [passage indistinct] All sides to the conflict are sincerely interested in a peaceful and exclusively political settlement of the conflict. The current phase requires a political will and readiness to attain peace, noted CSCE Minsk chairman.

In reply to reporters, Mr. Eliasson noted that the CSCE Minsk Group is closely cooperating with Russia for the successful conclusion of the current mediation efforts. [end recording]

Population Decline Due to Emigration Continues

PM0803103794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Mar 94 First Edition p 6

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA/LOGOTIP-KP roundup column report under the general heading "In Brief"]

[Text] Armenia—The republic State Committee for Statistics reports that, according to figures for 1 January 1994, the population of Armenia stands at 3,742,000. There are fewer people living in the republic today, but it is not possible to estimate the number who have left, since most left the republic without deregistering. During 1993 58,363 children were born in the republic,

while 28,877 people died, of whom 1,022 were children aged under one year. In the same year 21,646 marriages and 3,045 divorces were registered.

Azerbaijan

Adamishin Informed of Azeri Peace Terms

LD0703172394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1710 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By AZERTAC correspondent Alla Baula for TASS]

[Text] Baku March 7 TASS—Azerbaijan will never accept humiliating terms of peace in the Karabakh war, Azerbaijani Parliament Chairman Rasul Kuliyev said.

The announcement was made during his meeting with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin who made a stopover in Baku on his way from Tehran.

Adamishin told the AZERTAC news agency that his talks with Kuliyev focused on ways to settle the Karabakh conflict. He stressed that Russia favours Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and calls for the withdrawal of Armenian troops from all occupied lands and the return of refugees.

Speaking about the future political status of Nagorno-Karabakh, the Russian diplomat said that this issue needs further consideration. It can be solved only after the war is over, all troops are withdrawn from the occupied territory and the blockade is lifted, he said.

Adamishin Brings New Plan

LD0803120794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1058 GMT 8 Mar 94

[Text] Sources in the apparatus of the Azerbaijani president reported to Interfax that Russia's diplomatic mission headed by deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin came to Baku in the evening of March 7. The mission has brought a renewed variant of the Russian plan on the Karabakh settlement. The plan is based on Armenia's and Azerbaijan's compliance with the Russian initiative and their readiness to withdraw their forces form the hostilities zone.

According to the renewed plan, several observation points will be deployed along the disengagement line around Nagorno-Karabakh. Representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia will be in the composition of these posts. Main coordinating headquarters of peacekeeping forces which are to control the cease-fire agreement will apparently be based in the Azerbaijani city of Agdam and Karabakh regional center of Khankendi (Mardakert).

The same sources reported that Vladimir Kazimirov, special envoy of the Russian president, would participate in the Baku talks.

Opposition Seeks To Create 'Democratic Congress'

NC0703192894 Baku TURAN in English 1651 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] Baku (March 7) TURAN—Yesterday there was the meeting of the representatives of leading opposition parties and movements of the republic, such as Musavat, the Popular [People's] Front, Democratic Party, People's Party, Ana Torpag and others. The meeting took place in the headquarter of Azerbaijan Democratic Party.

Press service of Azerbaijan Democratic Party told TURAN that the participants of the meeting discussed the situation in Azerbaijan and decided to establish cooperation among the parties and to consolidate all democratic forces of the country. The same source reports that the resolution concerning formation of "Democratic Congress" has been adopted. The Congress will unite all democratic organizations of the country.

Situation in Credit System Reported

NC0503205094 Baku TURAN in English 1718 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Text] Baku (March 5) TURAN—For February 1 National Bank of the republic registered 178 banks with 174 commercial and 4 state ones. The number of functioning banks total 163.

From January 1, 1993 til February 1, 1994 National Bank granted credits totalling 100.207 billion manats. The Ministry of Agriculture received 13.8 billion manats, State Company "Azerineft"—7 billion manat, "Azerittifag"—2.9 billion manats, the Ministry of Trade—2.2 billion manats, State Company "Azerigas"—1.9 billion manats, State Company "Azerenerzhi"—1.7 billion manats, the Ministry of grain crops—0.6 billion manats.

The debts of state enterprises and organizations to each other to the state total 89.302 billion manats. It is 51.977 billion manats higher than was in January 1994.

Last month National Bank did not granted credits to those banks. It is expected to give those means to the Ministry of Finance to overcome budget deficit. On February 1 the credits, which National Bank granted to commercial banks, amounted to 6.1 billion manats. It is 8.7 billion manats less as compared with January 1, 1994.

The banks which were registered after March 1, 1994 have to pay 50 million manats (erlier 20 million manats) to a special fund.

The government did not pay the wages to the population amounting to 13 billion manats.

National Bank promised to inform about the situation in credit system every month.

Georgia

Coverage of Shevardnadze Visit to U.S.

Addresses Business Meeting

LD0703185194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1843 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Loshchilin]

[Text] Washington March 7 TASS—"We are in despair. The country is on the verge of famine. If it were not for the help from the United States, we would have real famine now," Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Speaking at a business meeting at the Overseas Private Investment Corporation in Washington on Monday, on the first day of his two-day visit to the U.S., Shevardnadze said that the disintegration of the Soviet Union was a painful blow to Georgia which had been left without traditional energy and medicine supplies. Only humanitarian aid, mostly from the U.S., keeps 300,000 Abkhazian refugees alive. The amount of such aid reached 225 million U.S. dollars in the last two years, he said.

The Georgian leader stressed that his government "firmly follows the path of peaceful settlement" of the Abkhazian conflict and expressed "the absolute confidence" that "positive results" will be reached in the near future. "The threat of the resumption of a civil war has passed," he said.

Shevardnadze assured American business people that there is a favourable climate for foreign investments in Georgia. "Within a year or two there will be a change for the better. I would not be here if I were not absolutely sure that Georgia's movement to free markets and democracy is irreversible," he said.

Talks With Clinton, Officials

LD0803095194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0808 GMT 8 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Loschilin]

[Text] Washington March 8 TASS—On Monday U.S. President Bill Clinton held talks with President of Georgia Eduard Shevardnadze, who arrived here on an official visit. The talks focussed on Georgia's request to despatch U.N. peacekeeping forces to Abkhazia and prospects for widenning U.S. aid to Tbilisi. At the end of the talks the two leaders signed a declaration of principles of relations, and also an agreement on mutual encouragement and protection to investments.

During the meeting President Clinton said that the United States decisively supports chairman Shevardnadze and the territorial integrity of Georgia. He mentioned difficult times which Georgia is living through and expressed belief that the Georgian people will overcome hardships and build a calmer and more flourishing future. He assured the guest that if the Georgian-Abkhazian talks crown with a durable political settlement, the united states will be inclined to support a U.N. peacemaking operation in Georgia. However, the U.S. President added that the American armed forces must not participate in it.

The U.S. President noted that his country intends to render humanitarian aid worth 70 million dollars. We affirm our readiness to broaden economic and technical assistance to Georgia while it keeps moving towards peace, Clinton said.

"Georgia, like other states of the former Soviet Union, needs foreign aid," in turn, Shevadnadze said. "Without Western assistance we cannot succeed in the transition towards democracy and a free market economy... Georgia supports the 'partnership for peace' programme put forward by Bill Clinton, and hopes to take an active part in implementing it. I have appraised the president of our approach towards finding a solution to the Abkhazian conflict, and intend to furnish our stand on this problem in detail during the U.N. Security Council session on this problem to be held on march 9," Shevardnadze said.

"During the talks we also discussed events in Russia. I spoke in favour of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the policy he is conducting. We exchanged assessments of tendencies of the develoment of the situation in russia. We share an interest in strengthening democracy in Russia. Events in moscow will inevitably have great affect on contiguous countries," Shevardnadze emphasised.

The Georgian head of state began the official part of his visit with an address to the U.S. government corporation of private capital investments abroad. "We are in a desperate state," he said addressing representatives of the American business world. "The country is on the verge of hunger. If no U.S. aid had arrived, we would have been facing hunger in its true sense," Shevardnadze said. He called on American entrepreneurs to broaden the volume of capital investments in the Georgian economy, assuring that the maximum possible favourable conditions will be for them in Georgia. "A turning point will come in two-three years. I would not have come here, if I were not absolutely confident that Georgia's transition towards a free market economy and democracy is irreversible," the Georgian head of state noted.

The same day Shevardnadze visited the Pentagon, where he held talks with U.S. Defence Secretary William Perry and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff John Shalkashvili. At the end of the meeting the two sides signed a memorandum of cooperation between the two countries in the military sphere.

On Monday Shevardnadze also held a meeting with director of the U.S. Agency for International Development Brian Atwood. They discussed questions concerning the implementation of the U.S. Programme of techinal and economic aid to Georgia through channels of this federal department.

Meets With Russia's Rybkin

LD0803114194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1120 GMT 8 Mar 94

[Text] Washington March 8 TASS—Russian State Duma chairman Ivan Rybkin held a brief talk with Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze, who is on an official visit in Washington, here on Monday night.

After the meeting Ivan Rybkin said in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS that he discussed with Shevardnadze a wide range of bilateral problems. We display keen interest in establishing peace throughout the Transcaucasus, the Russian parliamentarian emphasised.

Recently the Georgian parliament voted for the conuntry's joining the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Debates on this issue and voting were very difficult, and I congratulated Shevardnadze with such a positive outcome, Rybkin said. We have agreed to maintain close, virtually daily contacts both at the level of the two countries' parliaments and personal level, he said.

U.S. Envoy Brown Comments

LD0703220094 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 2050 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] The United States supported and still supports Georgia and welcomes the official visit to America by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, according to Kent Brown, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in a conversation with a SAKINFORM correspondent.

He said: I do not have the slightest doubt that this visit will be a new beginning in the relations between our countries, the relations for which we have made great efforts together and worked hard; especially great in this respect is Eduard Shevardnadze's role. He is respected and loved throughout the world as well as in the United States. The American administration, the American people supported and will support Georgia's independence, the country's territorial integrity and its inviolability.

Several kinds of aid have been mapped out during Eduard Shevardnadze's visit both in trade and economy as well as the political aspect. I am very sorry that the conflict in Abkhazia has considerably hampered the good goals which have not yet been fully achieved. I hope that in the not too distant future we will see international peacekeeping forces deployed in Abkhazia, but before this happens many problems must be overcome and Shevardnadze's visit to the United States is very important in resolving these issues.

We are living in an age when it is impossible to stay indifferent to the problems of one particular region or country. These problems influence the fate of others. Today's integration is very deep and from that point of view the Caucasus is the region of danger; it must be in the center of our attention, and it will be. I am sure that the meetings in Washington and New York will be beneficial to Georgia, the U.S. ambassador concluded.

Shevardnadze on Joining CIS, U.S. Visit

LD0503145994 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0600 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Interview with Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Yesterday, Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state, granted an interview to Georgian radio and television, which we broadcast late last night. We are presenting a recording of the interview again. The interviewer is Nato Oniani, a journalist.

[Oniani] Batono [Georgian polite address] Eduard, a decision on Georgia joining the CIS caused rather a strong reaction among our deputies. A view was expressed that Georgia did not have to look at Russia as a protector and savior, that this was a loss of the sovereignty achieved in years, that Russia still continued to try to accomplish its own aims, that is, the restoration of the Russian Empire and that help had to be sought elsewhere, because it will be impossible to speak about friendship with a country that itself prompts the issues to talk about.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. I would like the TV viewers to pardon me for repeating some parts from my speech at the parliament sitting, because I have had to return to the debates three times today. I regard this as a landmark in Georgian history. Those who are more or less familiar with our past and watch current affairs closely, will agree with me that all these centuries have been searching times. Friends, allies, and even protectors have been looked for. This is the fate of a small country and especially a country occupying a geopolitical situation like ours. The search is still going on and my personal decision that Georgia has had to unite—joining the CIS is a continuation of this course, of this road, and of this history.

I am sure that future generations will analyze all this and will realize that this has been a necessary step to be taken, a word to be uttered.

What response should be given to those who say that this will not solve any problem, or that we have to look for a

way for survival elsewhere, or this is a loss of sovereignty? I have already given a comprehensive answer to that but I will reiterate in general terms.

First of all, this is an opportunity to settle fundamental problems—how efficiently this opportunity will be used depends on us as well as on our CIS partners. In the first instance I mean the economy. The economy will never revive, we will not reach our desired goals quickly without the CIS. The documents we have already signed and still have to sign create beneficial conditions for speeding up economic integration or rather for the restoration of what had already existed, what we should not have lost and what we should not have destroyed. But we destroyed it with our own hands and that is why our economy is frozen and on a very low level.

Apart from the economy, there are principles and guarantees for collective security, which will come to effect if not today, then tomorrow. This is very essential.

In my opinion, it is not serious to speak of the loss of sovereignty just because a part of the sovereignty is delegated to the Commonwealth. Georgia is not the only country in this situation. There are 12 countries in the European Union and they delegate even more rights to the union. Take the ASEAN, a brilliant union in the Pacific and Asia, which created a basis for the revival and prosperity of the once poor countries. A lot of rights are delegated there also. I can also bring examples of other regional unions.

There may be discussions, but you have to reckon with common ground rather than only your personal view, while aspiring to believe not to share grounds, and just stick stubbornly to what you consider the absolute truth. I would like to add that when a politician, and a serious politician at that, takes a decision, he is obliged to take into consideration current interests and we have to take into consideration interests of saving the country.

Today, we are facing the issue of the country's existence or non- existence and therefore you have to take a decision that provides the chance of survival. At the same time, a politician has to think of what will be essential tomorrow, what effects this present decision will have in five years' time, in 10 years' time, in 20 years' time.

I would say that if the Commonwealth develops in the way all other regional and continental unions of the world have developed, I think our step can be justified from the future's point of view. If it does not develop in this way and it disintegrates, Georgia eventually will not lose anything. This is the case when we can gain a lot if the Commonwealth proves to be a real force and we can lose a lot and even everything if we do not join.

I would like to tell those who prompt us that Russia and the CIS are not a salvation and we have to look for other ways: Did we not look for other ways? Now, finally, my visit to the United States. Before that, there were my contacts with western, southern, eastern, northern countries. All ways have been tried. Some make our situation easier, some actively help us, but a principal way of survival and salvation has not yet been found. That is why, being guided by the existing situation, I have considered it essential to take a decision like this. I do not think I have made a mistake.

There are talks that Russia cannot be the survival [for Georgia]. Some say another way. We apparently had to sign an agreement with Russia but did not have to join the CIS. I do not think there is any logic in this.

First of all, it is absurd to ignore Russia, whatever forces come to power there. I believe that whoever argues over the issue on whether it is necessary to have relations with Russia, he is very far from reality and very far from politics.

If we agree that Russia is essential [for us], we would rather have relations with the Russia that is in the Commonwealth. For instance, do we prefer to be left face-to-face with a huge state like Russia or is it better to have a variant when we are in the CIS, and Russia is in the CIS, too? This means that bilateral relations are arranged and guaranteed and, at the same time, there are certain guarantees of security, collective security. I think this is also a more or less good reason. That is why I could not agree with arguments in parliament. Although, I have to say that there were sound ideas in certain speeches and I welcome them. [transmission then lost]

Abkhazia Issues Statement on 'New Aggression'

LD0703153994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1454 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 7 March— The Abkhazian Defense Ministry regards the actions of the Georgian military command as preparations for a new aggression. It issued a statement today which notes that, in the period from 24 February to 6 March, the Mkhedrioni and White Eagle military units, as well as armored vehicles and other weapons of the Georgian Army, were transferred from central Georgia to Zugdidskiy rayon. The statement says that the Georgian special services are continuing to send subversive and terrorist groups to the territory of the Republic of Abkhazia.

The Abkhaz side stresses that it will take the necessary measures appropriate to the actions of the enemy. All responsibility for the consequences rests with the Georgian side.

Abkhaz Claims Denied

LD0703180294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1752 GMT 7 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Tbilisi March 7 TASS—The Georgian Defence Ministry press service denied Abkhazian mass media reports on Monday that Georgia continues building up its military presence along the Inguri River and firing at Abkhazian positions in the Gali district.

The press service said that "Abkhazian and North Caucasian units continue to terrorize" civilians in the Gali and other districts of Abkhazia and carry out brazen raids on villages along the Inguri River.

Earlier today, the Abkhazian Defence Ministry accused Georgian military commanders of making preparations for a new aggression.

The Ministry said in a statement that between February 24 and March 6 Georgian military commanders had moved paramilitary Mkhedrioni and White Eagle units and military hardware from central Georgia to the Zugdidi district. Meanwhile, Georgian secret services continue sending out saboteurs and terrorists to Abkhazia.

Abkhazia will take all necessary measures to give an adequate response to these activities. All responsibility for their possible consequences will rest with the Georgian side, the statement said.

Party Leader's Appeal on Joining CIS Charter

LD0703205294 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] CONTACT news agency reports that the leader of Georgia's Social Democratic Party Professor Guram Muchaidze sent an address to the leaders of the Georgian political parties saying: By order of the Social Democratic Party's political council I have the honor to address you and call on you to view with complete understanding parliament's decision on Georgia's joining the CIS charter. Although this decision has been adopted somewhat late, which is an unforgiveable mistake of the authorities, it still gives us an opportunity to retain and reinforce the state independence toward which we have all made invaluable contributions. I hope that the leaders of Georgia's political parties will manage to overcome isolationism and work with a deep sense of responsibility for raising the role and authority of our country within the CIS.

Western Districts Prepare for Elections

LD0603194194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1912 GMT 6 Mar 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoria]

[Text] Tbilisi March 6 TASS—Preparations for upcoming parliamentary elections in western Georgia was in the focus of attention at today's enlarged meeting in Zugdidi of the temporary committee for state of emergency in western Georgia.

The meeting was attended by local government officials, representatives of some republican ministries and agencies, senior executives of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers.

Speakers at the meeting pointed out that the Zugdidi, Tsalendzhikh and Chkhorotskus districts of western Georgia were ready for launching election campaign and holding elections.

When elections to the republican parliament took place last October, the Central Electoral Commission ruled to postpone the polls indefinitely in some regions of western Georgia because of a tense political situation. At the time, these regions were under control of armed formations supporting Georgia's late ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Since then the situation in western Georgia has improved, which made it possible to fix a preliminary date of elections for July 12, 1994.

Slight Improvement in Electricity Supply

LD0603173494 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] We have been informed by Sakenergo [electric power production and consumption department] that electric power supply has increased compared with previous weeks. The operation of Tbilisi regional state power station has been relatively stable. Due to the rise of the water level in rivers, the efficiency of hydroelectric stations has increased almost by the factor of two and reached five million kilowatt/hours. Apart from this, the republic gets almost two million kilowatt/hours of electric power from Azerbaijan. Thus, as for today, the total power available reaches 18 million kilowatt/hours. The shortage is still large but it can be presumed that hydroelectric power stations will show a further significant increase in efficiency after 15 or 20 March.

Estonia

Government To Propose High-Level Talks

WS0803091894 Tallinn ETA in English 1847 GMT 7 Mar 94

[From 5 March RAHVA HAAL, HOMMIKULEHT, p 1, 3; "News Bulletin" No. 44/94]

[Text] Monday, March 7—A special session of the Estonian Government decided to propose high-level consultation to Russia in order to settle the differences between the two countries. The government also protested against Russia's attempts to destabilise the situation in the Baltic region and demanded that the troops withdrawal be completed by August 31. The Estonian Government statement stressed Estonia's willingness to continue tne negotiations.

Prime Minister Mart Laar told the journalists that the Russian additional conditions, including the demand of 23 million dollars, contradict Russia's international obligation of a speedy, orderly and complete withdrawal. "The Estonian side never promised them any compensation," Laar said.

Foreign Minister Juri Luik explained that the consultations would help to settle the differences and to continue the talks. He also pointed out the threat of the Russian military presence, referring to the recent fire in a Russian military unit near Paldiski.

Riigikogu [parliament] Foreign Affairs Commission Chairman Vello Saatpalu had recommended to continue the negotiations in the territory of a third country, but Friday's [4 March] government session did not discuss it, government spokesman Ain Saarna said.

Meri To Discuss Withdrawal With Swiss Leaders

WS0803093694 Tallinn BNS in English 2007 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Tallinn, Mar 07, BNS—An issue under discussion at meetings of Estonian President Lennart Meri with Switzerland's Federal President Otto Stich and federal counsellors Jean-Pascal Delamuraz and Willy Loretan was the need to achieve a pullout of Russian troops from Estonia by Aug. 31 this year, a spokesman for Meri said today. [passage omitted]

Western Governments Comment on Russian Troops

WS0703205894 Tallinn BNS in English 1619 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] Tallinn, Mar 07, BNS—The British Government says that Russia has to withdraw its troops from Estonia by Aug. 31, 1994, and expresses regret over that Russia at the latest round of talks backed down on the deadline spoken of earlier.

The Russian delegation at the past, 17th round of talks with Estonia said Russia won't sign the agreement on troop withdrawal, the document that also sets the deadlines for the process, before Estonia ensures what Russia defines as social guarantees for its retired military in Estonia, and fulfills certain other conditions.

Officials at the British Embassy in Tallinn told BNS that the British Government was worried about such a statement from Russia.

"According to the final act of the CSCE Helsinki meeting of 1992, Russia must withdraw its troops from Estonia quickly, in an orderly manner, and completely, and must not tie it to other issues. Also the international community has repeatedly underscored that the withdrawal of troops must take place without any additional conditions. Therefore, the Russian troops must be pulled out by Aug. 31 this year, as was earlier announced," the statement by the British Government says.

It also says that good relations between Estonia and Russia are essential to ensuring stability in whole Europe and that the withdrawal of Russian troops is a vital part of this process.

German Minister Comments

WS0703195494 Tallinn BNS in English 1011 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] Tallinn, Mar 07, BNS—Russian troops must leave Estonia and Latvia "as quickly as possible," German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel says in an article published in Saturday's [5 March] edition of the DIE WELT newspaper.

The article, titled "The Future of the Baltic States is in Europe", notes that with the Baltic states regaining their independence in 1991, "the injustice, which began with the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, was corrected."

"The sphere-of-influence-guided thinking of those days must not come up again. The Baltic region has been and will remain one of the regions in Europe that are particularly sensitive in recording the big tectonic shifts of our time."

Kinkel says it is now one of the most urgent tasks to see to it that the Russian Army units still remaining in Estonia and Latvia were pulled out. There is no reason to delay this or make the process dependent on conditions not directly related to it, the German foreign minister says, adding that there can be no justification to keeping one's troops on the soil of an independent country without that the latter so wishes.

The German foreign minister also states that his country is putting its full support behind the Baltic countries progressing toward a full member's status in the European Union.

As an intercessor for, and protector of the the Baltic states, Germany wants the European Agreement to be

signed with these countries still this year. The European Union would be imperfect without the Baltics, Kinkel says.

"Europe is not only a geographical but also a cultural concept. The future of the Baltic states is in Europe," the minister concludes.

Premier Disappointed With Rural Congress Outcome

WS0703195694 Tallinn BNS in English 1011 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] Tallinn, Mar 07, BNS—Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar in an interview with BNS expressed his disappointment with the decisions adopted by last week's congress meeting of the country's farm sector representatives.

He said it had seemed that many of the activists there had gathered only to gain political capital for themselves rather than discuss the topical problems facing the farm sector.

The prime minister in his address had reassured the farmers of the government's commitment to speeding up the reform in agriculture. But he said the government's efforts had met with little understanding and that many questions posed by him at the meeting had been left without answer.

Laar said a wish to limit the congress to complaining and letting one's emotions show had been greatly in evidence among speakers. "Many speakers found that farmers need no World Bank credits, and doubted in the necessity of a free trade treaty with the European Union. But both of these are badly necessary to the farmers," he said.

"If during the discussion on the property reform one speaks of the need to introduce direct election of the president and, with respect to protecting the domestic market, the prime minister is scolded for traveling around in the country, the future of the rural sector apparently seems dark," Laar said.

"Looking at the luxury cars that had gathered around the Vanemuine theatre (where the congress took place) in Tartu, one could at least state that the representatives of the rural people are not having a bad life," he added.

Opinion Poll Shows Coalition Party Still Leading

WS0303124194 Tallinn ETA in English 0806 GMT 3 Mar 94

[From "News Bulletin" No. 42/94]

[Text] The EMOR opinion research organisation published the results of opinion poll in February. The Coalition Party still leads the popularity list with 18 percent (20 in January). The second is the Royalist Party with 8 percent of support. The Centrists have improved their standing and came third with 7 percent of support. The leading partner of the ruling coalition, the "Fatherland" came fourth with 6 percent, while its partners, the Social Democrats, the National Independence Party and the Rural Centrists won, respectively, 3, 2 and 1 percent of support. The Liberal Democrats were also supported by 1 percent. The recently- formed Association of Lawful Owners has the support of 3 percent of those questioned, the Estonian Citizens League and the Democratic Labour Party (former communists) were also supported by 3 percent.

Defense Chief: Arms Factory Needed

WS0803091994 Tallinn ETA in English 1847 GMT 7 Mar 94

[From 7 Mar ARIPAEV, p 1, 3; "News Bulletin" No. 44/94]

[Text] Monday, March 7—Estonia will have to build an ammunition factory within a year in order to guarantee a sufficient supply of ammunition for its armed forces, Riigikogu [parliament] Defence Commission Chairman Rein Helme announced. The factory should also produce antipersonnel and antitank mines, he added.

Helme explained that the factory could cooperate with the oil shale mining firm "Eesti Pdlevkivi", which intends to build an explosives factory for its own needs. The intended factory might also service and repair arms or produce weapons for Estonia's defence forces, he added. Cooperation offers have been received from Israel and South Africa. The production of ammunition would reinforce Estonia's international position, Helme stressed, but pointed out that the Baltic market would be insufficient for a larger factory.

Defense Forces Begin Winter Maneuvers in North

WS0703123694 Tallinn BNS in English 1659 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Text] Tallinn, Mar 05, BNS—Scheduled winter maneuvers of the Estonian defense forces began in the region of Tapa-Kadrina-Rakvere-Assamalla, northern Estonia, early today, a spokesman at the Central Staff said.

About 1,000 servicemen from the Kalevi and Viru infantry battalions and members of the Defense League paramilitary units, as well as about 30 armored vehicles take part in the three-day maneuvers.

Higher Consumer Price Index Noted in Feb

WS0803093494 Tallinn ETA in English 2007 GMT 7 Mar 94

["News Release"]

[Text] Tallinn, March 7—The consumer price index went up 5.2 per cent in February as compared to January 1994, the State Statistics Board told ETA, on Monday.

Price of goods went up 4.6 per cent, with groceries up 6.8 per cent and industrial goods 0.9 per cent. Services were 6.3 per cent more expensive than in January.

Price of goods and services in February 1994 was an average of 43.1 per cent higher than in the same period a year ago.

Lithuania

Iliescu, Delegation Visit, Meet With Officials

WS0703210094 Vilnius ELTA in English 1748 GMT 7 Mar 94

[From "News Bulletin" No. 451]

[Text] Vilnius, March 7, ELTA—Romanian President Ion Iliescu arrived in Lithuania on a state visit on Monday [7 March]. Iliescu is accompanied by the Romanian state delegation including nine people, State Minister Teodor Melescanu and Trade Minister Cristian Ionescu among them.

Iliescu was greeted by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas at the airport in Vilnius. Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, Finance Minister Eduardas Vilkelis, Communications and Informatics Minister Gintautas Zintelis, Trade and Industry Minister Kazimieras Klimasauskas, Ambassador Justas Paleckis and Romanian Charge d'Affaires in Lithuania Nicolae Craciunas were present during the meeting ceremony at the airport.

From the airport the high-ranking officials went to Antakalnis cemetry. Iliescu put flowers at the memorial for the defenders of Lithuania's freedom.

In the Houses of Seimas [parliament] both the presidents had a half an hour lasting talk behind the closed doors.

Both the delegations, headed by their state leaders, had a meeting at the President's Office.

After the meeting Brazauskas was interviewed by Lithuanian and Romanian journalists and said that issues of foreign policies and internal affairs of the both countries were discussed during the meetings. He emphasized that the two countries had many similarities—they had to solve problems in economy and privatisation. Brazauskas noted that the countries pursued the similar foreign policy. For example, both the countries preferred good relations with neighbouring states, Brazauskas said.

Talking about Lithuanian economy Brazauskas noted that Lithuania had increased its export to the Central and Western European countries. He emphasized the aim of the three Baltic countries to achieve close cooperation and to become independent from the import of raw materials from the east. Brazauskas expressed a hope that Romanian businessmen who came to Lithuania together with their president would find their Lithuanian business partners.

Iliescu noted that Lithuania and Romania were related by their common wish to establish good relations with their neighbouring countries and prevent them from becoming new centres of political tension in Europe. Iliescu talked about cooperation between Romania and Hungaria and Moldova. He admitted that Romania was particurlarly interested in the solving of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. He expressed a hope that the important problems for both the countries would be discussed at the Krans Montana Forum in Bucharest in April.

Iliescu and members of the Romanian delegation also met with Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas and other officials. A dinner was given in the honour of Iliescu. During the dinner Brazauskas said: " Relations between Romania and Lithuania have got a new impulse - the visit led to signing the agreements between the two countries, the political agreement among them. These are the first steps of the close cooperation between Romania and Lithuania".

Meetings Continued

LD0703203394 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Excerpts] The president of Romania and the delegation accompanying him have arrived at the president's office and the Seimas. Talks between Algirdas Brazauskas, president of Lithuania, and Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, began at 1400. The closed meeting of the two presidents lasted half an hour. Following this a meeting of the state delegations headed by the heads of the states was held. [passage omitted]

In a short impromptu interview given to Lithuanian and Romanian journalists, Algirdas Brazauskas said that issues related to the foreign and internal policies of both countries were discussed by the two presidents. He stressed that their two countries have many similarities—both Lithuania and Romania are currently solving problems of economic reform and privatization. Algirdas Brazauskas also mentioned that there were very many similar trends in the foreign policy of both states. For example both states give priority to good relations with neighboring states.

Prospects for integration by both the states into the European Union, and the implementation of the NATO Partnership for Peace program were discussed by the presidents.

Nerijus Maliukevicius, the president's spokesman for the press, told ELTA that Algirdas Brazauskas acquainted the Romanian president and the delegation with the social and economic situation in Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Ion Ilescu stressed during the talks that Lithuania and Romania are united by the wish to arrange relations with

their neighbors in such a way that these will not become hotbeds of tension either now or in future. [passage omitted]

Further Details on Talks

AU0703202194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 7 Mar 94

[Text] The series of official contacts of Romanian President Ion Iliescu occasioned by his state visit to Lithuania was inaugurated today at the headquarters of the parliament [in Vilnius], with Iliescu's meeting with Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas.

The meeting was followed by talks among the Romanian and Lithuanian delegations, as well as between President Ion Iliescu and the speaker of the Lithuanian Parliament.

In a statement made following the talks, Romania's president assessed that the visit is taking place in the best atmosphere and that during all the talks held so far the wish of the two countries has been expressed to further bilateral relations.

For his part, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said that the meeting had been cordial and positive and expressed his belief that the current visit will result in important changes in the furthering of Romanian-Lithuanian relations.

Among the issues discussed during today's meeting the Lithuanian president mentioned relations with neighboring countries, the internal political situation in each of the countries, the progress achieved in their economic reforms, and the furthering of economic and commercial ties between Romania and Lithuania.

According to our reporter, an official dinner hosted by President Algirdas Brazauskas is now taking place.

Today the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries also held talks, after which [Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister] Teodor Melescanu told our reporters that during the talks both parties displayed interest with respect to the real security and cooperation perspectives in our area, more precisely the influence exerted upon security and stability by the evolutions in the Russian Federation and the entire region of the CIS. Hence Romania and Lithuania had a common interest in participating in the Partnership for Peace and in associating themselves with the European Union and other European structures, Melescanu stated.

'Concrete Steps' Taken To Implement 'Partnership for Peace'

WS0703124794 Vilnius ELTA in English 0828 GMT 5 Mar 94

[From "News Bulletin" No. 450]

[Text] Vilnius, March 4, ELTA—National Defence Ministry told ELTA concrete steps were already taken to implement agreement "Partnership for Peace" signed in Brussels by President Algirdas Brazauskas in January 27.

An introductory programme is being prepared at the moment. It will provide aims of Lithuania, armed forces, monetary means. The document is being prepared by the governmental working group headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Albinas Januska.

Candidatures of those who are to be sent to NATO Headquarters with a political and military mission and those—to NATO joint forces in Europe staff SHAPE [Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe] with a military mission.

It is planned that in March 16-17, a delegation from NATO military commission headed by Marshal Richard Vincent would arrive in Lithuania. During the visit, consultations concerning the introductory programme will be given.

Prime Minister Views Results of First Year

WS0403180094 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 22 Feb 94 No. 35 p 5

[Article by Adolfas Slezevicius, Lithuanian prime minister and LDDP chairman: "Stability, Social Market, Patient Work"]

[Text]

1. Instead of Introduction

The government formed by the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP] has not yet worked a full year (the government program was approved by the Seimas [parliament] on 31 March 1993). Its activities could be most briefly characterized by the fact that the integral inflation rate has been 93 percent since the day the government began its work. Compared with former governments (the total sum of inflation rate over the three years exceeded 6,500 percent), **this indicator implies the beginning of a stabilization of the economic crisis.** If we also added the obvious facts that last year, the growth in pensions, social benefits, and salaries of employees at budget-financed offices exceeded the rate of inflation, that is, a real 12.7-percent increase in people's living standards occurred for the first time after the declaration of independence, the statements about stabilization, for which I am often criticized, would not be worth arguing.

I understand those people, each separate person, with whom I meet in various regions, villages, and towns of Lithuania every week, that not all of them have felt a slight economic improvement. The condition of each community member does not depend on government policy alone. Their personal abilities are no less important. However, the government must see general tendencies and direct its policies along these lines. I have never

refused to assist anyone, any countryman in trouble, certainly, within my possibilities.

However, I cannot understand those who are violently attacking the formulation of stabilization—is striving for stabilization useless for Lithuania? Can anyone offer something else instead?

It is particularly difficult to understand those opponents who, being in the former legislature and government, ruined the country by ill-considered reform and failed to predict its effects. By the way, I suppose that radicalism is typical of the opponents also because the latter failed to understand the results.

Having won the elections, the LDDP did not intend to "settle scores" with the former government. Last year, we limited ourselves to naming the "heroes and authors" of reform. However, their current desire to cast off historical responsibility for the nation, demagogy, and even the instigation of social conflicts force me to briefly return to the legacy we inherited.

II. What Did the LDDP Government Inherit?

A short reply would be the following: Enormous inflation, a budget deficit, great social problems, and state debts; as well as fake money, disrupted settlements among economic entities, an open gate to organized crime and corruption, and a demoralized Interior Ministry system. I will not expand on society's spiritual losses inflicted by the opposition policy of the former government. They cannot be measured in terms of percent.

In the life of every family or individual this manifested itself not only as the shortage of heating or hot water, continuous price rises, the total devaluation of savings with trust in the promises of [former Prime Minister] G. Vagnorius, the chaos in agriculture, tenants' fear of being evicted from apartments, but also as false hopes and misleading illusions. The large credit of human trust in reform was wasted.

I must speak about all this because the opposition cannot realize its true obligation and tries to blame the economic crisis on our government, at the same time ruining our attempts to stabilize the economic situation. Let us recall how during the elections people demanded punishment of the real destroyers of the economy. Certainly, if we launch the tradition of "squaring accounts" with former governments, we will never have concord or a natural change of power in Lithuania, as well as a normal state development.

III. What Did We Manage To Accomplish In Less Than a Year?

I think that the government will summarize the results of its activities and present them to the public after its full year in office. By doing this we, like the president, will establish a tradition of assessing the road covered and reporting back to the voters (we remember that this is what we lacked; this was also one of the key reasons for the collapse of the former policy). A constant self-critical assessment of one's policy alone can ensure progress and correct decisions.

The LDDP government, like its former counterparts, has worked according to the program approved in the Seimas. Thus far, however, our government has been the first and the only one to prepare a plan of definite action for the implementation of the government program (it was approved at the government meeting on 30 June 1992 with the participation of chairmen from the Seimas committees). The government program would be left hanging in the air without such a plan, as was the case with former governments. As leader of the government, I maintain that the key goals of this plan have already been achieved, and part of the draft laws have already been submitted to the Seimas.

We remember the successful introduction of the national currency, the essential breakthrough in liberalizing foreign trade, and the preparation of a national program for agriculture. I think that the draft law on land currently being debated in the Seimas should become another serious impulse for land reform, which has the most problems. The free ownership of land will not only make agriculture private but will also allow small farmers to cooperate and the successful ones to grow larger.

In my opinion, we are often groundlessly criticized for the absence of concepts or plans. This is either poor information or a superficial attitude. Apart from the agricultural program, we have also drafted programs for the national systems of energy, transportation, and communications. Last week, the government approved the program of industrial restructuring, although this might have been slightly delayed. It is known, however, that our government did not take over any more serious achievements in this sphere from its predecessors.

One could draw the conclusion that the government is aware of the perspective and knows what it wants, where it is going, and what the results of such activities can be. In short, the government has created a programmatic and conceptual basis for its activities in all industries and spheres of social life. The government has also submitted several draft laws on law enforcement to the Seimas. They should make our state management considerably more efficient and strengthen law and order, which are indispensable in any state's life.

Since the very first days of our activities, we have focused on the execution of the budget. Having started the previous year with a 52-million litai [Lt] deficit, we finished it with a favorable balance of Lt65 million. This allowed the government to review (increase) wages and pensions nine times. The government assigned Lt343 million of budget revenues for this purpose, including Lt52 million for the indexation of inhabitants' savings, Lt96 million for self-governments, and so on.

Certainly, it is necessary to upgrade the tax system, to impose more reasonable taxes on profitable businesses,

and exact hidden taxes, which we partially managed to achieve last year (almost Lt100 million was exacted). It is very important that the Seimas adopted the 1994 budget at the end of the last year, that is, before the beginning of the fiscal year. This is also an indicator of a more stable functioning of the state and the economy.

I would like to stress once again that **the 1994 budget is much more socially oriented than all previous budgets** since the declaration of independence. Both our social democrats and other opponents often claim incorrectly that the LDDP government allegedly does not pursue a social democratic policy. However, the larger part of the 1994 budget, that is, 59 percent have been earmarked for social security. This growth is particularly noticeable in such areas as, for example, science—208 percent, education—175 percent, health care—183 percent, and others. Thus, the facts are totally different—the government policy is directed toward allaying the costs of reform for residents. This is being accomplished through monthly increases in social benefits and payments according to possibilities rather than through words or promises of a "bright" future.

IV. "Debts," Investments, and Perspective

There has been much talk about the "dimensions of the debt": Lithuania is head over heels in debt, its residents' "grandchildren will fail to repay these debts," and so on. What is the actual situation? Lithuania's average current debt is $160 per capita, $90 of which have already been used. The current government was forced to take out large loans for energy because it had inherited $86 million of debts and $25 million of fines for gas, to say nothing of the absence of any working capital in the energy system. I would like to stress as the same time that the pure hard currency reserve at the Lithuanian Bank has climbed by 2.8 times since March 1993 and is now $261 million, which is equivalent to the amount of utilized foreign credits. Thus, what debt are we talking about?! We must clearly understand that **there cannot be any economic reform without investment and credit resources.** It is only this that can help us achieve the vital breakthrough in the policy of economic restructuring. Incidentally, our agreements with the IMF were concluded for a period of 18 months. A program for another three years that is being drafted now projects five credit lines in restructuring different industries. These are agriculture, social programs, the restructuring of banks, and energy.

It is evident that we must spend increasingly more credit reserves on expanding investments. This task has been put forward and its is being implemented in practice. In cooperation with various global financial organizations, we are preparing changes in the acquisition, utilization, and repayment of credits, and in the organization structure of accounts. This will allow a more rational utilization of credit resources. Moreover, the fact that an increasingly larger part of loans goes to investments through commercial banks is also very important. Large-scale credit resources and economic restructuring create more favorable conditions for promoting investments.

Out of Lithuania's current 3,467 joint ventures, 768 work on foreign capital alone! The emergence of such ventures has become very dynamic recently. The total amount of investments in all joint ventures accounts for more than 85 percent. The current sum of investments is $200 million. As I have already mentioned, the system of acquiring and utilizing credits is being upgraded. A very important document, that will soon be submitted to the Seimas, is a new draft law on foreign investments. This law should be more efficient in promoting investments and introducing equal conditions for foreign and local investors. We have set up the Lithuanian Development Bank—an important institution for receiving and promoting investments, and the Investment Agency.

We hope that this year we will invest about $150-200 million or almost Lt600-800 million into the economy through various forms, state guarantees, the direct state debt, various commercial credits, and the joint effort of local investors. These investments and the general changes in the economic restructuring allow quite dynamic adjustments in the structure of exports and imports, although Russia remains our chief partner in purchasing resources. If we consider our exports to the West, however, in 1993 it accounted for almost 40 percent (against the meager 15 percent in 1991). It is extremely important that such economically powerful states as Germany, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries become our principal partners. Certainly, these processes must be encouraged in every possible way, and this is what we are doing.

V. Instead of Conclusion

Certainly, it is impossible to study all aspects and problems of government's activities in one article. I expect to be able to do this later. The government, as well as I—its prime minister and LDDP chairman, are concerned with the situation in culture, science, and education. We know that their condition is miserable, and we are holding numerous consultations and searching for resolutions.

The management of the state is also a complicated problem. Unlike any other sphere, this one, probably, receives the largest amount of advice and recommendations—from liberal and anarchist to stagnant conservative. I think that the time of the revolution is over, and our decisions must acquire a consistent evolutionary character. The officials' competence rather than number is important. In turn, the government must train its staff with the awareness of state interests and create relevant conditions for them.

It is common knowledge that both before and after the elections, the LDDP spoke out for cooperation with all political forces. Thus far, we have failed to achieve this. All more influential parties, except a few personalities, refused to cooperate and are continuing the "policy of

LDDP isolation" which, in my opinion, is fruitless and damaging to Lithuania. Meanwhile, Lithuania requires consolidation and political accord. The road to agreement or a consensus is not a one-sided effort. It requires overall tolerance, goodwill, and political wisdom. I believe that many oppositional parties understand today that the plans to isolate the LDDP have failed. Thus, let us look for agreement and common ground. The opposition should abandon the tone of ultimatums, actions which inspire conflicts, and demagogy in the first place. If we manage to rise above our party ambitions, Lithuania's political culture and democracy, that is, every individual, will gain from this.

Landsbergis: Baltic Independence Under Threat

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[Text] A couple of news conferences were held today at the Lithuanian Seimas. The first was on Russian-Lithuanian relations. Guoda Salciute reports.

[Salciute] Vytautas Landsbergis, Seimas opposition leader, presented a statement to journalists at a news conference today, concerning Russia's responsibility to Lithuania. Vytautas Landsbergis also gave a review of trends in Russian policy toward the Baltic states.

According to Professor Landsbergis the case of the independence of the Baltic states is now nearing a critical point. We see the latest statements issued by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which, under the guise of the Russian issue [of the Russian-speaking population], all the attention is concentrated on the justification of an expansion toward the West, Landsbergis said.

Latvia has already been broken down after the big states abandoned the principle, which they themselves formulated, of the unconditional withdrawal of the armed forces; meanwhile Estonia, while coming closer to the zero option—i.e. giving up the demand for compensation in the negotiations with Russia—will become the test case, the leader of the opposition maintained.

Vytautas Landsbergis stressed that there is no need to appeal once again to the United Nations concerning the recognition of the Russian occupation. This is the main issue in the statement. I quote: Russia has declared itself the successor of the USSR and in some important cases the international community agreed with this, the statement reads. In the treaty of 29 July 1991, Russia recognized the acts of restoration of Lithuania's independence and renounced the annexation carried out by the USSR. The referendum of Lithuanian citizens of 14 June 1992 firmly declared a sovereign conviction that Russia, having declared itself heir to the USSR, has also taken over the responsibility for the damage to Lithuania inflicted by the occupation, the damage which should be compensated for.

Therefore, bearing in mind all these circumstances, the reports that the president of Lithuania intends to discuss whether Lithuania and other Baltic states were occupied by the USSR or not at the oncoming summit of the Baltic states look rather surprising—as does an appeal to the world requesting a reiteration of the recognition of the occupation. Whatever the diplomats of the Baltic states or the Russian lobbyists in Vilnius might propose, the very fact that the existence of the occupation is doubted would mean great harm to the interests of our state and a violation of the main documents of our independence.

The Lithuanian president should not be drawn into such dangerous maneuvers, Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the parliamentary opposition, says in his statement on Russia's responsibility to Lithuania.